

JPRS-UPA-89-020  
31 MARCH 1989



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# ***JPRS Report***

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# **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-89-020

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31 MARCH 1989

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**Altay Kray First Secretary Popov's Leadership Style Criticized at Party Conference**

18000417 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian  
20 Dec 88 p 2

[Report by SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent A. Torichko, Altay Kray, under the rubric "Party Life: Reports and Elections": "A Rebuff of the Dictatorial Style: Commentary From the Altay Kray Party Conference"]

[Text] During the first recess a kolkhoz chairman I knew came up to me in the lobby of the Barnaul Drama Theater, where the party conference was being held, and asked:

"Do you like the way the conference is going"?

"Do you?" I answered his question with another.

"Up to now, no.... Perhaps it will become more substantive, but for now there is nothing new. The report was somewhat vague, and the speeches...."

"Just what did you expect"?

"At least some specific criticism. After all, a specific individual, a Communist, is responsible for each area. This would have livened up the auditorium, and the speeches would have been more incisive. It is time for the party organ to think about human souls and not just about quintals and percentages...."

He was right, of course, when he said that party work involves people. Tons of grain, meat, milk and vegetables, percentages of plan fulfillment—that is, the level of our well-being—depend upon the individual, upon his attitude toward the work and his sense of responsibility for the assigned area. But we can also not remain silent about the situation in the kray agroindustrial complex, for one thing, which is one of the nation's largest granaries. No one in the auditorium denied the role of the kray party committee elected at the previous party conference in increasing meat procurement by 31 percent and milk procurement by 18 percent during the report period, while per capita consumption of these products in the kray grew to 67 and 364 kilograms respectively. After a long slump, the farms exceeded plans for grain sales to the state for 2 years in a row, and only this year, with its extremely adverse season, did the target prove to be too much.

Does the kray party committee not deserve credit for the fact that it succeeded in convincing kolkhoz and sovkhoz officials to switch to the new economic management methods, to convert the entire agroindustrial system to complete economic accountability and self-financing, and to place dozens traditionally unprofitable farms into the ranks of the profitable? The fact is indisputable that a great deal of work has been done. These marked

advances still fall below the control levels for the five-year period with respect to resolving the food problem, however. The speaker, F.V. Popov, first secretary of the Altay Kray CPSU Committee, and many conference delegations spoke of this with a sense of concern.

Examples were cited in which leasing collectives increased the productivity of the fields and farms two or three times over within a year. And although the accountability report stated that leasing is already being used on one third of the kray's farms, the delegates present in the auditorium received this report with disbelief, because they know that many of the leases are still merely formalities.

"We are asked in the kray committee why we are doing such a poor job of introducing the lease contract," P.V. Yefremov, first secretary of the Pervomayskiy Rayon party committee, said, expressing his thoughts on the matter. "Today I can answer that it is because even though there is an order, no one is in control of the land. The peasant is not confident that he will continue to be in charge. Instructions 'from above' are changed too frequently: Today it is one way, tomorrow another."

I want to tell about one discussion on the subject of the restructuring within the kray agroindustrial complex. It took place at the end of the conference and involved two Heroes of Socialist Labor: A.Ya. Ernst, chairman of the Zarya Altaya Kolkhoz and chairman of the kray kolkhoz council, and F.F. Shnayder, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Kirov and a deputy in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"Pluralism of opinions is a good thing," the participants in the discussion said. "But we are concerned about the fact that agitated egotism has diverted the conference away from the main thing. There was no discussion in the auditorium about the kray party organization's general line for the period ahead with respect to implementing the Food Program. Ours is an agrarian kray, after all! And we continue to be ignorant of the strategy and tactics for the work ahead of us. The role of scientific and technological progress was mentioned only in passing in the report. But without it we will not advance.

"It is good that we have been emancipated with respect to deciding management issues. Someone has to coordinate the work on the kray scale, however, and help us to adopt the progressive forms of labor organization and wages. How are we to raise the caliber of crop production and animal husbandry, for example, when we still see the new and modern equipment only at exhibits, but we cannot acquire it?

"Or take leasing. It is a good thing. Once again, however, there is pressure from above: 'Come on, come on, produce!' They have already begun breaking down some of the strong and profitable farms in an attempt to keep up with the trend. There are many problems, after all. There is no need to hurry with this. The introduction of



economic accountability methods and economic mechanisms is one of the main tasks of the kray party committee. Unfortunately, no precisely defined program was adopted in this area at the conference. We have to return home empty-handed."

Just what is this pluralism, which, according to those I spoke with, "steered" the party conference away from the basic tasks? In fact, the atmosphere in the auditorium did change drastically following the break. The delegate speeches began to evince criticism of the style and methods of leadership of the kray party organization by the apparatus, the buro members and the first secretary of the CPSU kray committee personally.

It began cautiously, amicably: "...Comrade Popov gets efficiency from his comrades with his high level of demandingness. Something else needs to be pointed out, however: In his hurry to resolve specific issues as rapidly as possible he becomes overwrought and is sometimes hot-headed. This frequently results in hasty decisions. By taking on everything himself, he removes the buro members from affairs and weakens the principles of collective decision-making in the accomplishment of urgent tasks" (Hero of Socialist Labor G.I. Semenko, first secretary of the Biyskiy Rayon party committee). Or take the following: "A few comments about and requests of F.V. Popov: You are a very difficult person. I would like to see greater trust. Both the kray party committee and your prestige would benefit from that. Greater respect should be shown for people. They are kept waiting in the reception room for 5 or 6 hours" (A.A. Kulishev, chairman of the kray ispolkom).

Without getting together in advance, first secretaries of rayon party committees I.V. Aparin, V.F. Draskov, N.N. Chernenko, V.D. Chernyev and A.F. Sirash also spoke out about the troubling matter. Their speeches, based on principle, not only condemned distortions in the work style but also openly demanded of section heads and secretaries of the CPSU kraykom that they put an end to duplication and parallelism and rapidly alter the management methods as demanded by decisions coming out of the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

"They frequently call from the kraykom and ask about the state of the cows, but no one asks about the condition of the people." "The party committees must study not the technology of management but the technology of human relations." "G.A. Sivchenko, secretary of the kray committee, should deal more with the long-term situation and improve agricultural science. We can figure out by ourselves how much fodder to keep." "During the report period the kray party committee did not succeed in accomplishing the main task set at the 27th CPSU Congress: to make the ideological work nurture the restructuring." These are a few excerpts from the speeches.

But this was just the lightening. The thunder came following the speech by V.I. Bivalkevich, first deputy chairman of the kray agroindustrial committee. "The CPSU kray

committee buro," he said, "has become not a political but a punitive organ, in which Comrade Popov can insult people, remove them from their jobs or intimidate them by threatening to send them out to a farm. His treatment of the cadres has become intolerable."

Rumbling and movement set in in the auditorium. It was unheard of to say such a thing right to the face of the first secretary! The presidium also tensed up because of the unexpectedly sharp and unflattering criticism. The chairman stood up, but the speaker continued: "The report stated that Sotnikov was overlooked (a reference to the first secretary of the Burlinskiy Rayon party committee, who was not even elected to the rayon committee at a recent party conference—author). "They did not overlook him. They did not want him, because his management style coincides with your methods...."

"Good for him! That was bold, candid and frank!" some people said in approval of Bivalkevich's speech. "He is taking personal revenge!" others said with indignation. It is difficult for me to judge the fairness of what was said. The fact remains, however, that fear and kowtowing, indulgence and servility to superiors are a thing of the past. The party's course of expanding glasnost, increasing criticism and self-criticism and democratizing the entire society has liberated the people and made it possible to utter one's thoughts aloud.

I have to share my own subjective opinion of this matter, however. I have known V.I. Bivalkevich for a long time, since he was secretary of one of the kray's raykoms. I can frankly say that his manner of working with people differs little from that which he severely criticized at the kray party conference. The main thing, however, is that what was said, it seems to me, reflected the opinion of many and was not without basis. This was confirmed by the results of the voting for members of the new kray party committee, in which many conference delegates refused to place their trust in F.V. Popov, with 305 of the 805 delegates voting against him. It was primarily a condemnation also of infractions of party ethics, lack of tact and rudeness in dealing with people, and dictatorial management. This will unquestionably be a good lesson for the future. Not just for him but for all the secretaries and section heads of the kray party organization's newly elected committee.

#### **ESSR Council of Ministers Views Ecological Issues, IME**

18000334 Tallinn SOVetskaya ESTONIYA  
in Russian 3 Dec 88 p 1

[Report by R. Amos, ETA correspondent: "At the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] On 1 December, a meeting of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, at which questions included on the agenda of the upcoming session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet were discussed, was held in Toompea.

I. Toome, the chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, opened the meeting:

Today's meeting is special, since reports, which are being submitted to parliament, will be discussed collectively for the first time. It must become the rule that a member of the government, when addressing the Supreme Soviet, state the collective opinion of the whole government. We must find the methods and means so that the complete membership of the Council of Ministers functions as effectively as possible.

T. Nuudi, the chairman of the Estonian SSR State Committee for preserving the countryside and forestry told about the status of nature conservation and about the republic's problems in the sphere of using natural resources.

He reported, among other things, that the ecological status of the Estonian SSR has continually worsened. This is a complex process. Along with the reservations, preserves, and other territories, which are at a relative ecological equilibrium, we have regions with an extremely high concentration of industrial and agricultural production, where unfavorable changes in the environment threaten the ecosystem and the natural balance and make the general ecological condition worse, and in some places the ecological situation has already reached the crisis level. This situation is caused by strict implementation of the centralized planning targets, frequently at the price of squandering natural resources. Departmental management is to blame for this.

The key economic factors, which stimulate the thrifty use of natural resources, are lacking. Scientific and technical progress has slowed down in many fields and this is the reason for their ecologically unacceptable technological state. The rate of development in the various branches of the economy is not well-balanced. When regulating the use of natural resources, the struggle is being waged against the effects instead of against the causes.

Conflict situations have arisen in several areas of the republic as a result of all of this. Northeastern Estonia, Tallinn and its vicinity, the Pandiveresk Hills, the islands of Western Estonia, the basins of Chudskoye, Pskovskoye, and Vyrtsyav Lakes, Matsaluskiy Bay, the seashores, and the cities of Tapa, Kunda, Tartu, and Khaapsalu are included among these.

The problems in northeastern Estonia are the most critical, primarily the Kokhtla-Yarve and Narva regions, where emissions which are particularly dangerous to children's health have been noted. Air pollution caused by energy production and the chemical processing of shale is causing the greatest harm. The same applies to Tallinn, especially its eastern portion and Maardu, where the primary source of pollution is the chemical and cellulose-paper industry.

Agricultural production has a negative effect on the Pandiveresk charts and other places. Matsaluskiy Bay, Vyrtsyav Lake, and coastal waters on the whole are suffering from agricultural pollution. Traces of heavy metals have been detected in fish.

A conception of preserving nature and the rational use of natural resources, which defines the fundamental criteria and trends of development for the purpose of improving the environment of our habitat and the rational use of natural resources, must become the ideological basis for nature conservation.

The introduction of an economic mechanism in the use of natural resources presupposes the working out and fixing of prices for natural resources, which would economically stimulate their thrifty use. Nature's capacity for self-purification is almost exhausted. Society must direct ever increasing funds to the construction of purification facilities and to other protective measures. The requirement to economically regulate the pollution of the countryside is increasing.

During the discussion, many important issues regarding the conservation of nature were touched upon. The meager agricultural production, the terms for discontinuing aerial chemical treatment (the end of 1989), and expanding the rights of the local Soviets in solving problems regarding the conservation of natural resources, the storage and use of organic chemicals, and the rational use of natural resources were discussed. It was reported that it is planned to complete the production of phosphorites in Maardu in 1993.

The academic M. Veyderma went into detail on the problems of developing energetics, protecting Chudskoye and Vyrtsyav Lakes, and the requirement to carry out conservation efforts after the termination of mining.

The opinion of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet commission for environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources concerning the problem under discussion was stated by Yu. Niysuke, the commission chairman.

R. Otsason, the Deputy Chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers and Chairman of Estonian SSR, Gosplan related the idea of a self-sufficient Estonian SSR.

By 1 November of this year, the temporary scientific group for improving regional management from the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences, Institute of Economics and the IME problem-solving council presented simultaneously developed drafts of the concepts of IME to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the government. The expertise of these drafts showed the unity of the principles of both concepts, which allowed the leaders of both scientific groups to decide immediately to draw up a single concept for IME.

A system of economic regulation and sections of a territorial management structure are included in this concept. The remaining sections concerning economic, social, and cultural policy, as well as the policy in the sphere of the environment and information, bear a recommendatory nature in both draft concepts and are already subject to more precise definition during the introduction of the IME.

The pre-crisis state of our economy is a direct consequence of former management policy. The speaker emphasized, today it is clear to us where the underestimation or complete disregard of regional production factors can lead. In any normal economic system both man and society should and do live according to profits. This is self-evident for the Soviet Union as a whole. However, for regions of the USSR the situation is reverse: expenditures are not determined by profits, but profits are determined by expenditures. The transition to a self-sufficient republic is essentially a step-by-step process which is constantly being improved.

R. Otsason dwelled on the fundamental aspects of regional self-sufficiency: budget allocations, participation in the all-union distribution of labor, on the economic interests of the various regions and their interdependence, issues concerning the forms of property and market economy methods under the conditions of a planned economy.

During the subsequent exchange of opinions, it was concluded that it is necessary to develop a general concept of republic self-sufficiency, in which the points of view of the all-union commission studying regional self-sufficiency would also be taken into account, on the basis of the two concepts of IME. It was established that the general concept should to the maximum extent possible take the real situation into account.

In concluding the discussion, I. Toome stated:

Right now there are still many problems and obscurities in the concept. But the people believe in IME. Therefore, we are faced with a difficult and complex task. One thing is clear—there is no alternative to the republic's self-sufficiency.

The inquiries of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet regarding the pollution of the sea and atmosphere by the industrial conglomerate "Ehstonphosphorit" and concerning the construction of public education establishments with a sense of the republic were also discussed at the republic government's meetings.

Information concerning the extinguishing of the fire at the "Estonia" mine was heard.

### **LaSSR Application of New Laws on People's Deputies Elections Outlined**

18000339 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
13 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by I. Liyetavijetis, chief of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Soviet Department for Matters of the Work of the Soviets: "Mandate of Popular Trust"]

[Text] Only 2 weeks have passed since the work of the 12th, extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Its documents were published, passed and made into law, after the drafts of the changes and amendments to the Constitution and the elections of USSR people's deputies were discussed so ardently and with such interest. Restructuring is aimed at involving all elements of socialist society in active, creative work, at providing the most favorable conditions for each. Enormous responsibility has been placed on voters and future deputies for the practical implementation of the opportunities and advantages which the new laws offer society. After all, these laws have laid the foundation for the sovereignty of the soviets and self-management of the people.

The USSR Supreme Soviet formed the Central Electoral Commission and set the elections of USSR people's deputies for 26 March 1989. We must hold them in accordance with the new law, which opens up broad opportunities for nominating alternative candidates and for the democratic election of deputies able to take the new, difficult duties of the sovereign soviets upon themselves. Above all, further political and economic transformations and the social well-being of society will depend precisely on them. This entirely defines our civic duty, the tremendous responsibility of nominating and electing people's deputies, and our new attitude toward elections.

According to the Law on Elections, passed at the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, this new attitude received profound potential opportunities, included both in the rights of voters, as well as of deputies. I will not list these rights: they are clearly set forth in the law. The main point is to use them sensibly, realizing all the responsibility toward the present, the future, and our fellow countrymen. What kind of people will tomorrow's elect be? This is the main question that the upcoming election campaign will answer. No matter who a future people's deputy represents, in the soviet he acts as a political leader whose calling is mainly to capably and organically combine the voters' interests with the republic's needs, and with the tasks of developing all society. To a decisive extent, our future depends on what kind of people will receive the mandate of popular trust.

Preparation for the elections of USSR people's deputies has already begun. It is fully underway in our republic. The electoral districts have already been formed. A norm was established by a USSR Supreme Soviet resolution



for the number of voters in one territorial electoral district—257.3 thousand voters. Thus, eight such districts have been formed in our republic—one more, than in the previous elections to the country's higher state body. The new district was created proceeding from the number of residents in Riga. Previously, all of the voters in the Leninskiy, Leningradskiy and Moskovskiy rayons of the republic's capital voted for one deputy to the Council of the Union. Now, Yurmala has been combined with Pardaugava, and Moskovskiy Rayon has been combined with Kirovskiy Rayon into one new electoral district.

According to the new law, 32 national-territorial districts for the election of USSR people's deputies are being formed in each union republic, as many, as there were previously electoral districts for the election of deputies to the Council of Nationalities in the Latvian SSR.

District electoral commissions are now being formed. Each commission can include from 11 to 17 people. The number was previously strictly limited to 15. As opposed to the former practice, electoral commission members are now nominated by labor collectives or their councils, by social organizations, as well as by assemblies of voters and servicemen.

The new Law on Elections significantly increased the powers of the electoral commissions. A great deal of difficult work faces their members. One of these difficulties, in my opinion, lies in the following: it was determined that one of the district commission's tasks is to organize the nomination of candidate deputies. It would be better to do this, it seems, in close contact with the soviets and party organizations, although the Law on Elections has not stipulated this step. Will 11-17 people really (only a few of them will be free of their basic jobs) be able to do this difficult task without the aid of these organizations?

Something new in the commissions' powers is the organization of meetings between the candidate deputies and voters. Here, the law properly stipulates that these meetings will be organized jointly with labor collectives and social organizations.

A few comments on points 11 and 12 in Article 25 of the Law on Elections: they state that the district commission organizes the conduct of a repeat vote and repeat elections, as well as the election of a deputy to replace one who has left and the solution of problems related to recalling a deputy. Unfortunately, however, nowhere does the legislation state that the commissions will keep their powers over the course of 5 years, as was stipulated with respect to the Central Electoral Commission. If this term of authority does not exist, how will the district commission be able to perform these tasks 1, 2 or 4 years later? For example, previously the Supreme Soviet Presidium carried out the recall of a deputy. Evidently, right now, while we are learning democracy, we must all solve and comprehend its lessons in the current work. Under the conditions of restructuring, grasping and improving

everything new, we cannot make do, apparently, without corrections and practical steps while developing the bases laid by law.

When does the nomination of candidate deputies begin? According to the law, it starts 3 months before the elections, i.e., on December 26th. As everyone knows, an unlimited number of candidates can now be nominated. Thus, the pre-election meetings, at which these candidates will be discussed, have been given a very important role. The commissions will register those candidates, for whom more than one-half of the meeting participants vote. It should be noted that district pre-election meetings will not be held in districts where only two candidate deputies are nominated.

It is good and democratic that the names of several candidates will be listed on the ballot. However, if their number is large, for instance, five or maybe even more, it is possible that none of these candidates will collect a majority of votes and the election will have to be held again.

Right now, many questions are being asked concerning procedures for nominating candidate deputies from social organizations. I think that this is not stated specifically in the Law on Elections. However, most likely, unforeseen problems will also arise. How will we solve them? Life and common sense will suggest the proper approach for each individual case.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize again the idea that the main point is to think carefully as to what kinds of people we will nominate as candidate deputies. The basic criteria by which we must determine the worth of a person who will be controlling state matters are his true practical qualities, his desire and ability to work for the good of the people, and his civic, principle-minded stance, not his position or the "pretty lines" in his biography.

We are entrusting the fate of the republic and the country to our elect. All Latvian residents have been granted an opportunity to nominate the most worthy, authoritative, and universally respected representatives of the population's different social strata as candidate USSR people's deputies. This is the main right of every voter, who feels personally involved in the process of restructuring.

#### **BSSR CP Secretary on Restructuring of History, Economy**

18000396 Moscow *SELSKAYA ZHIZN* in Russian  
31 Dec 88 p 2

[Interview with N. I. Dementey, secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee, by V. Legankov: "The Ideas of October in Our Affairs"]

[Text] On 1 January, 70 years will have passed since the day the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Belorussian Communist Party were formed. In connection



with this event, N. I. Dementey, secretary of the central committee of the Belorussian Communist Party, gave an interview to our correspondent.

[Legankov] Nikolay Ivanovich, it is generally known that Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, whose position proved to be decisive in the difficult struggle for the creation of the republic, stood at the sources of the formation of Soviet Belorussia. How can the situation at that time be depicted?

[Dementey] Numerous and complex processes actually preceded the birth of the BSSR as a state form of self-determination of the Belorussian people. Soviet authorities had to defend themselves against both foreign and domestic counterrevolution. Various kinds of nationalistic groupings also raised their voices. But as Lenin indeed foresaw, the worker and peasant masses of Belorussia firmly declared their intention to build a new life on socialist principles and in close union with the Russian proletariat. In the establishment of the system of soviets, the workers of Belorussia found the key to their own national and state structure. The attempts of the nationalists, who were being supported by kaiser Germany and bourgeois-landlord Poland, to turn the wheel of history back to a reanimation of bourgeois customs suffered defeat.

Proclamation of the republic was directly connected with the work of the 6th northwestern oblast party conference which participated in a special resolution on this question and which declared itself the first congress of the communist party of Belorussia. Thus, the birth of the national state of the Belorussian people coincided with the organizational formation of the party organization of the republic as one of the vanguards of the Communist Party of the country.

Not all local workers at that time thoroughly understood the ways and forms of deciding the national question, including also in the sphere of national and state building that was worked out by Lenin. This was reflected in the resolution of certain practical problems connected with the proclamation of the BSSR. The differences that arose were quickly overcome, owing to V. I. Lenin's getting involved in the resolution of this question.

[Legankov] Seventy years under the conditions of Soviet authority—not a short period—saw a socialist reformation in the city and the village and the liberation of the western oblasts of Belorussia in September of 1939 from under the yoke of the bourgeois regime of Poland. Finally, the war, which left a countless number of graves and obelisks. . . And now it is more than 40 years that there has been a peaceful sky overhead. On the whole, how do you evaluate the road taken by the republic?

[Dementey] The road is truly heroic. Literally 7 hours after the Winter Palace fell, Soviet authority was also proclaimed in Moscow. Thousands of the best sons of the republic fought on civil war fronts, and afterwards

they established the outposts of socialist industry. Belorussia covered itself with everlasting glory in the years of the Great Patriotic War. A heroic struggle, in which one out of every four inhabitants of the republic perished, was waged at fronts, in partisan forests, and in cities that were occupied by, but which did not submit to, the enemy.

The war and the occupation ravaged the republic completely. It seemed that decades would be required to heal the wounds and to raise the national economy from the ruins. But with the tremendous international assistance of all of the fraternal peoples of the country, first and foremost of the great Russian people, we were able to cope successfully with this most difficult task.

Today, Belorussia is a highly industrialized republic. By comparison with the year 1950, the volume of industrial production has increased by almost 40 times. Moreover, priority development is given to industries that determine scientific-technical progress. Our machines, tractors, automobiles and many consumer goods, such as, let us say, refrigerators, watches, television sets, motorcycles and bicycles, and clothing and shoes, enjoy a steady demand on the world market.

Great improvements have also occurred in agriculture. Having 2 percent of the all-union agricultural land and 3 percent of the arable land, taking its specialization into account, the republic produces 6 percent of the meat, 7 percent of the milk, 15 percent of the potatoes and about a third of the all-union volume of flax fiber.

[Legankov] Alas, there were not only glorious heroic pages in the history of Belorussia, but there were also events that were profoundly tragic. We recall the stalinist repressions, when many thousands of people were declared to be enemies of the people. What is the progress in cleansing our history of all kinds of speculative and conjunctive postulates, and will the people learn the whole truth? This question is especially appropriate in that you head a committee of the bureau of the central committee of the Belorussian Communist Party concerning the rehabilitation of guiltlessly suffering communists.

[Dementey] We realize how ambiguously and awkwardly our historical destiny unfolded at times, and, therefore, today we are reflecting not only on the achievements but also on the bitter losses and tragic errors in our 70-year journey.

We paid a dear price for the retreat from the Leninist principles and methods of building a new society, for the violation of democratic norms of life in the party, for voluntarism and dogmatism in thinking, and for phenomena foreign to socialism. The command-administrative methods of management and the mass repressions distorted the humane essence of the socialist system, shackled the creative forces of the people, and led to tremendous costs—political, ideological-ethical, and

material. Everything necessary is being done to restore historical justice. The commission of the central committee of the KPB [Belorussian Communist Party] on the additional study of materials connected with the repressions in the period of the 1930's and the 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's is functioning under conditions of glasnost together with public organizations and legal organs, and it is preparing a proposal to immortalize the memories and burial places of the victims of repression. Hundreds of people are being rehabilitated in a party and civic manner, among whom is Tishka Gartnyy, the first chairman of the provisional Belorussian government. By restoring historical justice and returning the good name of guiltless victims, the party is simultaneously creating all of the necessary political conditions and legal and other standards so that the tragic past associated with the cult of personality is never repeated.

[Legankov] Perestroyka and glasnost have evoked an unprecedented wave of criticism. Numerous disputes in youth auditoriums and speeches in the press reveal a mass of serious errors that were committed in the recent stagnant period. This was also noted during the regular election campaign in party organizations. People complain that you cannot buy sausage and good clothes and shoes, and that goods are getting more expensive, etc. What is the matter here?

[Dementey] I will try to examine why so many commodities and items, of which there were enough in the past, turned out to be in the shortage category. When speaking of the amount of commodities produced and sold to the population, then it is increasing noticeably. Thus, in 1988 the sale of meat and meat products, by comparison with 1985, increased by more than 17 percent; sausage items, by 22 percent; milk products, by 22.7 percent; sugar, by 15 percent, and confectionary items, by 14 percent.

The sale of cultural and household commodities has increased. The sale of color television sets, for example, increased by 1.8 times over 1985; radios, by 24 percent; leather shoes, by 7 percent; toilet soap, by 4 percent, and laundry soap, by 8.8 percent. In all, the retail turnover increased by 13.1 percent in 3 years. And, nevertheless, as we see, the increasing volumes of commodities offered the population still lag consumer demand significantly. For 3 years the average salary of industrial, office and professional workers increased by 18 percent and the payment of labor of collective farmers increased by 28 percent. Under these conditions, even those commodities which were previously in surplus became in short supply.

The poor trade turnover [nierazvorotlivost trgovli] and shortages in regional distribution of commodity stocks make their "contribution" to the aggravation of scarcity. The recent increase in the export of goods by the population of other regions and by tourists also has an effect. On the one hand, this is gladdening, because it

attests to the serious work of the industry of the republic in raising the quality of products. On the other hand, it is distressing, because it leads to an aggravation of scarcity. A poll that was conducted showed that a substantial amount of clothing articles (up to 35 percent), shoes (25 percent), children's knitted wear (40 percent), television sets (30 percent), and other products are bought and exported beyond the boundaries of the republic. It would be unreasonable, of course, somehow to limit or prohibit the export of commodities. This would not be brotherly or neighborly. In addition, without a broad turnover, satisfaction of the personal needs of the population simply would be inconceivable. We are orienting our industry on a different path: not reducing exports, but expanding production.

The central committee of the Belorussian Communist Party and the government of the republic have enlisted all enterprises and organizations, without exception, in the production of commodities. The collaboration of many enterprises that produce consumer goods is being expanded with foreign firms. In a word, we are directing all of our efforts at putting an end to scarcity and to queues.

Meaningful attention is being given to increasing food stocks through the introduction of waste-free technologies and the reduction of raw material losses. The lack of balance between the production and processing industries that set in during the years of stagnation is holding back the expansion of the assortment of products. This is a sore point in the development of the APK [agro-industrial complex] of the republic.

[Legankov] And what kind of very important problems are being resolved at the present stage by village workers, and how are the new approaches in the management of the agro-industrial complex being assimilated? To what extent are they effective? And why does perestroyka, if one is to judge by material end results, as the saying goes, slip frequently? Let us also take the village: after last year's record harvest, there is a sharp drop today. Many have been left without grain fodder for the winter.

[Dementey] Yes, there are shortages! But there is a firm foundation for the efficient conduct of affairs in all spheres of life. In the agrarian sector, the average annual production of the output of fields and farms increased by 12 percent, including grain by 25 percent and meat by 14 percent. In per capita calculations, 115 kilograms of meat, 739 kilograms of milk, 345 eggs, 682 kilograms of grain, 86 kilograms of vegetables and 770 kilograms of potatoes will be produced.

It would seem that the results are not bad. The main remaining problem is that we have not yet achieved the needed stability in cultivation and, consequently, in all agriculture as well. All that it took this year to cause an immediate drop in the harvest was an unfavorable agro-meteorological condition for plant growth. The average harvest from 1 hectare of an area under crops

was 25.9 centners as against 33.9 centners last year. It should be said for the sake of fairness that the average annual level of crop yield has grown. In the last 5-year plan, 21.4 hectares of grain was obtained on the average for a year from 1 hectare. So there is growth, but not as fast and steady as we would like.

The main directions and goals in the development of the agro-industrial complex for the next decade are clearly defined. The main stress is being placed on the intensification of production, the active utilization of the achievements of science and advanced methods, the restructuring of the economic mechanism of management, and the development of leasing relationships. The efforts of rural party organizations and labor collectives are also aimed in this direction.

We note that a certain deviation in plant breeding from the level of a very favorable 1987 year does not cause any perplexity among our personnel. We consider it realistic by the year 2000 to raise grain yields to 45 centners and potatoes to 300 centners, to bring annual milk production from cows to 4,500 kilograms, and the average daily gain of weight for cattle in fattening to 800-1,000 grams, and for pigs, to 600-800 grams. Dozens of kolkhoz's and sovkhoz's have already reached these and higher levels.

Of course, strenuous and able work will be required from each and everyone. We show great concern over a further increase in the fertility of soil. On the average, we bring in 14-15 tons of organic fertilizer for 1 hectare of arable land. Liming of acidic soils is conducted systematically. New and highly productive varieties of our Belorussian breeding arrive at the fields. Almost all of the grain crops to be harvested in 1989 will be sown with incrustated seeds.

In cattle breeding, we are counting on the further intensification of specialization, the creation of hybrid-breeding centers, and embryo transplantation points, and strengthening the fodder base, including a resolution of the protein problem as well. A concrete program for the development of the processing and food industry has been worked out and is being put into effect. A system of training and retraining of all personnel is being changed substantially. Questions of the development of the social infrastructure of the village are being solved dynamically. Leasing is receiving broad development. It is already being applied in a greater part of the economy. All of this has a favorable impact on the economic situation in the country. According to preliminary data, the profitability of agricultural production, according to this year's results, will reach 40 percent.

[Legankov] I would like to touch on another important question; it concerns national and international relationships. Giving millions of people who believe in perestroika access to active political activity will lead to a growth in national consciousness. We, for example, attentively followed various new movements among our friends in the Baltic area. The "neformaly" in Belorussia

are also declaring themselves loudly. One can only welcome the activation in itself of non-traditional forms in support of perestroika. But many are troubled that some slogans take on a nationalistic coloring. And not only the slogans, but also that the work of some leaders of these movements leads to dissociation rather than to the strengthening of fraternity.

[Dememiev] The rapid development of social movements and initiatives, perhaps, is one of the brightest signs of the present stage of perestroika. The mass civic conscience is being actively awakened, which will objectively create the prerequisites for the formation of the socialist pluralism that is so necessary to us. Like every new social process, this one also will not "find" itself immediately; it does not assert itself simply, and there are contradictions in the dialectics. Negative accretions also arise, in particular that which you mentioned in your question. It seems to me that one finds at their basis a poorly developed feeling of social and civic responsibility, a low level of political and legal culture of a certain part of the population, our lack of a long period of democratic traditions, and the inertia of old prejudices and dogmas in the consciousness of some people. In general, perestroika revealed that entire spectrum of problems which were not resolved previously in the proper way, but which were neglected.

How should one evaluate one or another social movement? I think that the main criterion is to understand whether it works for perestroika; that is, for the resolution of vitally important problems, and not the other way around, for their exacerbation and intensification.

Maximum political attention to the activities of various social movements is now needed from party committees, soviets and *lomsomol* organs in order that the growth of their activities is accompanied not by a pretentious contribution but by a constructive contribution to perestroika, and also by overcoming individual demagogic, extremist and other anti-perestroika manifestations.

[Legankov] And the last question, Nikolay Ivanovich. One automatically notices how unusually urgent the slogans of the October revolution suddenly become in our day. Really, let us recall: "All power to the soviets!", "Peace to the people!", "Land to the peasants!", "Liberty, equality, fraternity!", "Freedom of speech!", "Freedom of conscience!", and others. Is not the fact that perestroika is a direct successor of October proved convincingly?

[Dementey] Of course, the ideals of Great October first and foremost determine the goals and tasks of perestroika. The historical significance of perestroika consists of the revival of the Leninist program for the construction of socialism in all of its fullness. Also related to October is the degree of radicality of the reforms in all social relations and, first of all, the considerable change in the structure of political authority. It is not accidental that we call so decisive a change



in economics, politics, culture, morality on the part of man, and his needs and interests, the revolution of perestroika. But, I think, that we will not be right if we start to underestimate or even in some way devalue the entire 70-year historical experience of socialism for the cause of perestroika. Not only the achievements, but the errors, deformations, and bitter lessons are also taken into account as the renewal of socialism proceeds.

Therefore, the urgency of the slogans of the October revolution attest to the fact that perestroika, while rushing into the future and resolving its tasks, is guided by the entire historical experience of socialism, comparing it carefully with the ideals of October. In a word, the revolution continues.

**Armenian CC Buro Assesses Public Response to September Plenum**

18300174a Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
6 Nov 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the Armenian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] The Armenian CP Central Committee Buro discussed the matter of letters and statements made orally by workers in connection with the September 1988 Armenian CP Central Committee Plenum—"On the Tasks of Party Organizations in Overcoming Stagnation Phenomena in the Economic and Social Sphere, and on Improving the Health of the Moral and Ideological Climate in the Republic."

The adopted resolution notes that, in the period of preparation for the plenum, the Armenian CP Central Committee appealed to communists and all workers in the republic to bring proposals and comments forward to the Central Committee on the work of party, soviet and economic agencies and social organizations on matters of socio-economic development and improving the moral and political climate in the republic.

More than two thousand proposals and critical observations were brought forward which reflect active support for the party's course as developed by the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. They show a deep interest in the further development of democracy and glasnost and in the necessity of accomplishing radical economic reforms as soon as possible.

Of the total number of letters received by the plenum, 84 percent were examined directly within the Central Committee apparatus, and about 16 percent were directed to appropriate party and soviet agencies, ministries and departments. The most important questions raised by citizens were examined in timely and efficient manner by the Central Committee leadership, resulting in appropriate decisions being taken and tasks made. These dealt primarily with the intensification of production, improvements in the work style of party, soviet and

economic agencies, and the struggle against legal infractions, violations of state discipline and abuses.

Characteristic of the letters received during the period of preparation for the plenum were their markedly increased critical orientation, the sharpness with which existing negative phenomena were perceived, the high degree of civic responsibility of the authors and their deep interest and readiness to participate actively in resolving the problems confronting the republic as soon as possible.

Working people have been presenting specific proposals for further extending the processes of perestroika and effecting fundamental change away from command-directive bureaucratic administrative methods of leadership towards democratic, glasnost-oriented forms of management and efficient methods of administration. Expressing their approval of the entirety of practical measures undertaken by the Armenian CP Central Committee to achieve restructuring in the socio-political and socio-economic spheres, many letter writers also note that the process of perestroika in the republic is still experiencing difficulty in getting up to speed. Serious deficiencies in the implementation of the party's social policies come to light every day. Problems associated with providing the population with food products to the fullest extent possible are being slowly resolved. The need is seen for further development in family renting and leasing contracts, collective gardening and cooperatives. At the same time, sharp criticism has been levelled at the unsupervised activity of cooperatives specializing in food production accomplished under dubious sanitary conditions.

Many letters sharply criticize the situation with respect to construction of living quarters and the trade, transportation, medical, and normal everyday communal services provided to the population. The problem of uninterrupted supply of drinking water has not been resolved in a number of cities and rayons. Ecological problems continue to be troubling. Many people express a deep concern with respect to the situation which has come about in the republic as a result of the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and vicinity.

Negative processes, unresolved problems and omissions in the economic and social spheres have adversely affected the moral and ideological environment of the republic. Deep roots have taken hold with respect to such ugly phenomena as misappropriation of socialist property, corruption, bribery, protectionism, and a scornful attitude towards the law. Formalism and useless paperwork are slow to be eliminated. In addition to stating incidents of social injustice and distortion in intra-party life, almost every other letter expresses support for measures directed towards improving the moral and psychological atmosphere of the republic and instituting proper order with regard to personnel policies, holding leaders who have compromised themselves strictly accountable for their actions.



The desire is expressed for party and soviet personnel to spend more time in the labor collectives, to devote greater attention to improving working conditions and the everyday lifestyle of the workers, and to strengthen proper order and discipline.

More than 500 matters raised have been resolved positively, and about 250 are undergoing examination.

Sections of the Armenian CP Central Committee have been tasked with accomplishing practical measures to implement the proposals and critical observations contained in workers' letters addressed to the Central Committee Plenum, and, when necessary, with bringing the most significant of these to the attention of the bureau and secretariat. They are tasked with fundamentally restructuring the style and methods of party work, primarily through the assimilation of democratic, open forms of party leadership and through exercise of the creative potential and initiative of the party's active membership, of all communists and workers. They are to develop intra-party democracy in every possible way and enhance the role of elective organs. Special attention must be devoted to improving and perfecting personnel policies, to replacing the leadership with competent, initiative-minded people from among our young employees, kolkhoz workers and economic specialists who possess high moral qualities. The democratic principle must be strictly observed in resolving personnel matters. The practice of using a competitive system of open, public selection and placement of personnel should be widely adopted. Individuals who have compromised themselves and are thus undeserving of the trust of the workers must be decisively removed.

The Armenian CP Central Committee Bureau has obligated party gorkoms and raykoms to establish an exact order insuring an attentive attitude towards worker proposals and observations, and to increase their supervision in the resolution of issues raised by other citizens. The practice of conducting "open letter" days must become more widespread and accountings by the leadership on all levels must be rendered more frequently before the population and labor collectives.

Newspapers at republic, city and rayon level have been charged with systematically publishing the letters of workers which have great political and socio-economic significance, and with shedding light more purposefully on the work of party and soviet organs, using the written and oral presentations of workers.

The Armenian CP Central Committee expresses its deep gratitude to communists and to all the workers of the republic who have actively participated in preparation for the Central Committee Plenum. Many of the proposals and critical observations of workers are reflected in plenum materials and were taken into account in drawing up its resolution. They will serve as an important reference point in the determination of further practical steps to be taken along the main roads of restructuring

the work of party organizations to remove stagnation phenomena in the economic and social sphere and improve the condition of the moral and ideological environment of our republic.

**ArSSR: CC Bureau Faults 1989 Plan, Scores Martuninskiy Raykom Performance**  
18300174b Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
10 Nov 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Armenian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] The latest regular session of the Armenian CP Central Committee Bureau has been conducted.

A plan was approved providing measures to implement the decisions of the CC CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers has been tasked with exercising supervision and coordination of the work to be accomplished by ministries and departments of the republic in implementing these decisions.

Draft versions of the Armenian SSR Plan for Economic and Social Development and the Armenian SSR Budget for 1989 were discussed.

It was noted that the draft plan for the coming year was not successful in fully implementing one of the fundamental provisions of the September 1988 Armenian CP Central Committee Plenum—strengthening the social reorientation of the republic's economic development and insuring implementation of the requirements of radical economic reform.

The draft plan envisaged directing a little more than 80 percent of usable national income directly to consumer needs of the population and social-cultural construction. Taking the population growth rate into account, this would cause the republic to lag behind the average USSR levels even more with respect to many indices of social development. Decreased levels of new pre-school institutions, general education facilities, hospitals and residences as compared with the 1988 plan were seen in reduced funding for residential housing construction cooperatives. The draft provided for a decrease in the opening of new social-cultural facilities in rural areas.

The draft plan does not provide an appropriate basis for certain agricultural indices, specifically, for volume of state purchases of meat, vegetable and melon yield.

The plan does not envisage new, qualitative improvements in our republic's largest industrial complex, the machine building industry, or in chemical forestry and metallurgical complexes.

The draft plan does not provide for substantial changes in investment policy. Just 31 percent of capital investments designated for production are slated to go to technological rearmament and reconstruction of existing production. This is lower than the level of previous years and does not meet the requirements of accelerated modernization of industry in our republic.

Several consumer-goods production indices require work, especially at "group A" enterprises and enterprises for retail trade, transport activities and personnel training. Inadequate attention has been devoted to territorial aspects of the plan and to eliminating existing disproportions in the economic and social development of certain rayons and cities of the republic.

The draft plan and draft budget do not adequately define the effect of new management methods on the main economic indices for production development, especially taking into account the transition effected since 1989 by all branches of material production to operation on a full self-support management, self-financing regime. Not all the available opportunities for eliminating losses have been fully set in motion for enterprises and organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, in order to insure effective operation of the entire economy.

The Armenian CP Central Committee Buro has attached special significance to implementation of the 1989 plan, which predetermines to a great extent execution of the 12th Five-Year Plan taskings and the establishment of a solid foundation for further accelerating socio-economic development in the republic on a qualitatively new basis.

The main track to be followed by Armenian ministries and departments, party organizations and labor collectives in all spheres of the economy for 1989 must be practical implementation of the provisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, the decisions of the July (1988) CC CPSU Plenum and the September (1988) Armenian CP Central Committee Plenum on matters of socio-economic development. The need was stressed for all organizational and management activity to be directed towards consolidating the social orientation of the republic's economy and achieving right away in 1989 noticeable progress in improving supply of food products to the population, saturating the market with goods and services, strengthening the material-technical base for social and cultural development, enhancing the effectiveness of social production, and augmenting the role of intensive development factors.

It was noted that, taking into account the peculiarities of 1989, it is necessary to develop and implement supplementary measures to insure: stable operation over the course of a year, development and consolidation of self-support management interrelations, an improved financial situation and better monetary circulation in the republic, and a basic transition to enterprise operation at a profit in 1989. To these ends we must devote special

attention to the introduction of self-support management accounting and leasing contracts within the production scheme.

Proceeding from discussion which took place in the Armenian CP Central Committee Buro, the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers was tasked with finalizing these drafts and presenting them for examination to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Central Committee Buro examined the question "On the Results of Checking Letters and Complaints of Inhabitants of Martuninskiy Rayon Addressed to the Armenian CP Central Committee." It was noted that the rayon leadership (G. Mnoyan, first secretary of the party raykom; M. Galstyan, ispolkom chairman of the rayon council of people's deputies) presented a good-natured, self-assured manner, but were not insuring realization of the perestroika policy, development of democracy and glasnost, or repudiation of command-directive administrative methods of operation. There was no progress in the socio-economic reorganization of the town and obstacles had sprung up in all spheres of agricultural production and personnel work. There was no shift towards priority development of the social sphere or satisfying the vital needs of the working people, no observation of the principle of social justice. All of this had an effect on the level of labor and social activity. It produced an unhealthy moral and psychological climate in the rayon, and elicited letters and complaints from inhabitants to republic-level agencies.

There has been a systematic lack of assimilation of capital expenditure quotas. Plans for construction and installation work and for making new living quarters operative are falling through. The level of normal cultural services provided to the population is low; there is much censure of trade enterprise operation, where prime-necessity goods are lacking. There are numerous incidents in which customers are deceived or short-changed. In 1987-1988 alone, sales of goods to the population amounted to 6.6 million rubles less than what was called for by the plan. Many population centers lack drinking water as it is supposed to be provided—there is no gas, no telephones. Baths are functioning in only three of seventeen villages.

Disruptions and violations in the allocation of farmstead lots are arousing the ire of working people, as are delays in allocating land parcels given to the rayon by the republic-level authorities. Bureaucratic operation, red tape and the absence of glasnost in resolving these matters have evoked the sharp criticism of workers.

The struggle with negative phenomena has been waged poorly in recent years. In spite of numerous expressions of alarm by working people, not a single instance of bribery or major misappropriation of socialist property has been uncovered.

A serious under-fulfillment of quota has been seen in agriculture, especially in livestock breeding. In 1987 state procurement volume of meat was down by 10.2 percent from the average annual 11th Five-Year Plan index; milk volume was down 1.5 percent, wool—3.5 percent. Over a ten-month period this year, milk yield per cow was 150 kilograms lower than for the same period last year. Improper management attitudes towards harvest cultivation have resulted in (as of 1 November) 183 hectares of unharvested grain field, much of which lay under snow cover. More than 10 tons of grain rotted on the threshing floor in the village of Artsvanist.

Economic indicators and the financial situation of the overwhelming majority of farms have deteriorated significantly. Their preparation for transition to self-financing has been neglected. There has been no progress in the development of collective and leasing contracts; moreover, obstacles are put in the way of those desiring to shift to leasing. There has been an increase in the number of homesteads without livestock.

Replacing the soviet and operating organs, the party raykom has lost sight of the political goals of the primary party organizations and labor collectives. It fails to take their views into account in working out the solutions to important questions of organizational, educational and managerial activity. A check revealed a number of instances of poor supervision of personnel work and serious errors in personnel selection and placement, as well as in CPSU membership selection.

It was confirmed that there had been an incident in which alcohol was consumed, and in which the rayon leadership participated, while carrying out measures dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Lenin Komsomol.

For unsatisfactory management of the restructuring of party political work, serious violations of party principles in the selection and placement of personnel, and a significant deterioration in the moral and ideological upbringing of workers, the Central Committee Bureau of the Armenian Communist Party delivered a stern reprimand to the Martuninskiy Raykom first secretary, G. Mnayan, recorded the action on his registration card and removed him from his position.

For deficiencies and omissions in developing the economic and social sphere and for incidents of gross violation of agricultural laws, the ispolkom chairman of the Martuninskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies, M. Galstyan, was given a stern reprimand and the action was recorded on his card. His continued occupation of the job position was deemed inadvisable and the matter will be examined at a session of the rayon council of people's deputies.

Other matters dealing with the economic and social life of the republic were also discussed at the session.

### Information Report on 13th Kazakh CP Central Committee Plenum

18300277a Alma-Ata PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN  
KAZAKHSTANA in Russian No 12, Dec 88

[Unattributed report: "Information Report on 13th Kazakh CP Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The 13th Kazakh CP Central Committee Plenum was held on 1 November. The agenda included the following questions:

1. On reorganizing the structure of the republic's apparatus of party organs and forming Kazakh CP Central Committee commissions.
2. Organizational questions.
3. On the tasks of the republic party organization for the continued development of the food supply to the population in light of the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the July (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

A report by the Central Committee Buro was presented on the first question. Kazakh CP Central Committee members I. B. Yedilbayev and A. A. Ustinov and Kazakh CP Central Committee candidate-member V. I. Yefimov participated in the discussion.

In accordance with the directives of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the resolutions of the July and September (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenums, a resolution was adopted on reorganizing the structure of the republic's party organ apparatus and on forming Kazakh CP Central Committee commissions.

The Plenum examined organizational questions.

The Plenum relieved S. K. Kubashev of his duties as second secretary and member of the Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro in connection with his retirement.

The Plenum elected M. S. Mendybayev to serve as Kazakh CP Central Committee second secretary.

The Plenum relieved Yu. A. Meshcheryakov and S. V. Urzhumov of their duties as secretaries and members of the Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro in connection with their transfer to other employment.

The Plenum elected V. G. Anufriyev to serve as secretary and member of the Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro.

The Plenum ratified the following Kazakh CP Central Committee commission chairmen: commission on questions of organizational-party and cadre work—M. S. Mendybayev; ideological commission—U. D. Dzhanibekov; commission on questions of legal policy—G. V. Kolbin; commission on questions of socio-economic



development—L. Ye. Davletovu, and commission on questions of agrarian policy—V. G. Anufriyev.

The Plenum ratified the following Kazakh CP Central Committee department heads: organizational-party and cadre work—G. N. Korotenko; ideological—A. A. Ustinov; socio-economic—S. V. Urzhumov; state-legal—V. I. Yefimov; agrarian—G. Ye. Yesmukanov; general—Kh. Sh. Takuov; chairman of Commission on Party Control under the Kazakh CP Central Committee—A. A. Mukhambetov, and Kazakh CP Central Committee Affairs Administrator—V. A. Brott.

The Plenum promoted M. I. Chormanov from candidate-member to member of the Kazakh CP Central Committee.

Kazakh CP Central Committee First Secretary, G. V. Kolbin presented the CP Central Committee Buro speech at the Plenum. It was entitled "On the tasks of the republic party organization for continued development of the food supply to the population in light of the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the July (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum".

The following members participated in a discussion of the speech: V. I. Lokotunin, first secretary of the Kazakh CP Karaganda obkom; U. Sarsenov, chairman of the Kazpotrebsoyuz governing board; V. A. Teterin, first deputy general director of the "Borovoye" agricultural combine in Kokchetav oblast; L. Ye. Davletova, Kazakh CP Central Committee secretary; A. I. Shustik, first secretary of the Borodulikhinskiy party raykom in Semipalatinsk oblast; T. T. Omarova, tractor operator at the "Veselopodolskiy" sovkhoz in Kustanay oblast; S. A. Medvedev, first secretary of the Kazakh CP North Kazakhstan obkom; A. A. Kulibayev, first secretary of the Kazakh CP Guryev obkom; V. A. Ovchinnikov, brigade leader of the sugar beet farming brigade at the "Dzhanasharskoye" experimental-educational farm in Alma-Ata oblast; M. K. Suleymenov, director of the All-Union Scientific-Research Institute of Grain Management imeni A. I. Barayev; V. B. Temirbayev, chairman of the East Kazakhstan oblispolkom; E. Kh. Gukasov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and Kazakh SSR Gosagroprom chairman.

G. V. Kolbin presented the concluding remarks.

The Plenum adopted a resolution on the question discussed.

CPSU Central Committee official L. D. Zakharchenko also participated in the work of the plenum.

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### **Kazakh CP Reorganizes, Establishes New Commissions**

18300277b Alma-Ata PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN  
KAZAKHSTANA in Russian No 12, Dec 88

[Unattributed report: Announcement of the Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro: "On Reorganizing the Structure of the Apparatus of Republic Party Organs and Forming Kazakh CP Central Committee Commissions"]

[Text] Based on the directives of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the CPSU Central Committee on questions of political reform and development of the party apparatus structure and reorganization of the apparatus of local party organs, the Kazakh CP Central Committee thoroughly and comprehensively reviewed the existing structure of all republic party committees, giving consideration to the opinions of the party obkoms.

The proposals of the Kazakh CP Central Committee on restructuring the party apparatus and reducing the staff were prepared with consideration for the fact that the functions of the party committees as organs of political management are significantly altered under the new conditions. They will be directed primarily toward the solving political and educational problems, selecting, placing and training the cadres, organizing work on realization and verification of the implementation of adopted decisions, rendering practical aid to party organizations, and generalizing and promulgating positive work experience.

In connection with this, the proposals provide for the elimination of all sectorial departments, beginning with the Kazakh CP Central Committee and ending with the party gorkoms and raykoms. Thus, the apparatus of party organs which is relieved of its administrative-management functions is now called upon to concentrate its work on the key directions of organizational-party and ideological work and on the implementation of an active social policy. It must shift its center of attention to political methods of operation. This specifically has been reflected in the proposed structure of the party committee apparatus.

The following departments are created within the apparatus of the Central Committee and the party obkoms: organizational-party and cadre work; ideological; agrarian; state-legal; socio-economic; general, as well as affairs administration and a Commission on Party Control.

Instead of 6 secretaries in the Central Committee there will be only 5. In the Secretariat there will be 5 party organizers, selected from among the best trained and qualified workers, and serving as the immediate reserve for promotion. Instead of 17 departments there will be 8, while the number of staff officials will be reduced from 268 to 188, reflecting a 30 percent reduction.



The structure of the party obkom apparatus will be analogous to that of the Kazakh CP Central Committee apparatus. Altogether, 107 sectorial departments will be eliminated in the obkoms, and 275 officials will be relieved of their duties.

In accordance with the CPSU Central Committee resolution, the party obkom apparatus which is classified as extra-group (Alma-Ata) and 5 obkoms of the first group are being reduced by 30 percent; of the second group (7 obkoms)—by 20 percent, and of the third group (Dzhezkazgan)—by 10 percent.

Thus, in a quantitative sense the number of persons in the party obkom apparatus fluctuates from 51 to 69 associates, depending on the category of the oblast. Among them there will be 2-3 party organizers who will work directly under the secretariat management.

As a rule, only two departments will be created within the party gorkom and raykom apparatus: an organizational and an ideological. Clerical departments are also envisioned instead of the general departments. The apparatus of gorkoms which do not have rayon divisions and the apparatus of rural party raykoms are not being reduced.

Within the apparatus of the party city committees of oblast centers which have rayon divisions (there are 6 of them), the number of officials is being reduced by 10 percent, or by a total of 20 persons altogether.

Thus, considering the apparatus of the Central Committee and the party obkoms and gorkoms, 375 positions for official workers are being eliminated altogether.

Additional positions for the dismissed party workers in the primary and shop party organizations will be established at the expense of the remaining unused staff [openings].

In connection with the reduction, questions arise on the correct and effective utilization of the liberated workers arise. From the apparatus of the Kazakh CP Central Committee they are sent to reinforce the subordinate party committees, soviet and economic management organs. Thus, Kazakh CP Central Committee Secretary Yu. A. Meshcheryakov has been elected first secretary of the Pavlodar party obkom; N. F. Krasnoselskiy, head of the Construction and Municipal Services Department, has been elected secretary of the Pavlodar party obkom; Sh. Omarov, head of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee Foreign Relations Department, has been elected second secretary of the Alma-Ata gorkom, while S. A. Abishev and M. V. Kryukov, inspectors of the Organizational Party Work Department, have been elected first secretaries of party raykoms, etc.

A number of the workers dismissed from the Central Committee sectorial departments have been directed toward strengthening the apparatus of the Gosstroy [State Committee for Construction Affairs], Gosplan

[State Planning Committee], Gosagroprom [Agroindustrial Complex], the Ministries of Public Education, Trade, and Motor Transport, the State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting, and other republic ministries and departments.

Similar work is being performed also in the party obkoms. The liberated workers are being used to strengthen the apparatus of the main planning-economic administrations being created in the oblasts, as well as other segments of soviet and economic management.

As a rule, the party apparatus is staffed with well-trained workers. Their knowledge and experience must be utilized with maximal effectiveness in the interests of the cause. The party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms must show maximum attention toward the liberated workers so that not one of them suffers any material loss.

The remaining apparatus, having been reduced in number, must be highly competent and act effectively and with greater return.

At the same time, the staff reductions and the restructuring of the party committees must be utilized in full measure in order to replenish [the apparatus] with fresh forces from among those who know how to act with initiative and creativity and who have mastered political methods of management.

It must be clear to everyone that the implemented reorganization of the party apparatus is an important political act which stems directly from the directives of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Therefore, we must perform this work precisely and in an organized manner, without weakening party management in all directions of economic and cultural construction.

The reduction in the party apparatus must be accompanied by a continued increase in the role of the elective party organs and the activity of their members. Based on the resolutions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, it has been deemed expedient to form commissions within the Kazakh CP Central Committee. Their creation will make it possible for every Central Committee member to step up his activity in specific directions of party-political work and to increase his influence on the process of intensifying perestroika in the republic. Such a step will more fully correspond to the changes in functions of the party organs and the shifting of emphasis toward political methods of management.

The formation of commissions will also make it possible to realize in deed the principle of strict subordination and answerability of the apparatus to the elected party organs.

The Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro has deemed it possible to create the following commissions:

—on questions of organizational-party and cadre work;

- ideological;
- on questions of socio-economic development;
- on questions of agrarian policy;
- on questions of legal policy.

Commissions will also have to be formed in the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms. Their creation in each party committee must be approached in a well-thought out manner. As evidenced by an analysis of the proposals of party obkoms, some of them intend to create 4, others 5, and still others—even 6 commissions. If we proceed from the fact that the commissions must be headed up by secretaries of party committees, it would hardly be expedient to opt for increasing their numbers.

Who will head up the commissions is a no less important question. For example, in some obkoms the administration of the commissions on questions of organizational-party and cadre work will be placed on the second secretaries who are charged with the agroindustrial complex. The question then arises: who, then, will head up the commissions on questions of agrarian policy? Who will head up the commissions on questions of legal policy which most of the party obkoms want to form? All of this is not so simple. And, perhaps, in these cases it is necessary to perform a redistribution of responsibilities, or even to opt for a relocation of the cadres within the make-up of the party obkom secretariats.

Today we are speaking not simply of organizational shifts, but of basically restructuring all the work of the party committees and of bringing the forms and methods of political methods into line with the new tasks. Therefore, the questions of forming commissions and managing them must be approached with a full degree of responsibility, in a well thought-out manner, proceeding from the specific conditions and tasks facing each oblast party organization. We cannot allow the creation of the commissions to be merely an *adaptation* to the new conditions and requirements, a mere *imitation* of perestroika.

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**Kirghiz Council of Ministers Notes Shortcomings, Reprimands Officials**

18300232 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA  
in Russian 4 Nov 88 pp 1-2

[KirTAG report: "At the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] At its regular meeting, the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers examined the course of the socioeconomic development of the republic's economy and tasks for the successful completion of 1988.

It was noted that, in accordance with the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, measures were taken in the republic to strengthen restructuring and democratization in the management of economic sectors and in increasing social industry. In January-September of this year, the volume of national income produced grew by 5 percent (as opposed to the 4.5 percent in the annual plan). The increase in production for industry was 7 percent (as opposed to 6.6 percent in the plan calculations), and for consumer goods—5 percent. Labor productivity increased by 7.4 percent.

In agriculture, the assignments for purchases of cattle, fowl, milk, eggs, and wool were overfulfilled.

In spite of this, the Kirghiz government was not satisfied with verifying generalized indicators, having critically evaluated the work of a number of sectors and regions of the republic in many areas, and having emphasized the need for a profound interpretation of the changes taking place in the economy. Attention was directed, above all, to the fact that the existing possibilities for meeting the people's growing sociocultural needs are being utilized poorly. Large enterprises, such as the "Kirgizmebel" Production Association, the "Orgtekhnik" and "Torgmash" plants, the Frunze Experimental Plant for Electrical Vacuum Machine Building, and the Khaydarkan Mercury Combine have not ensured the fulfillment of plans for producing widely demanded commodities.

A significant number of shows were not delivered by the republic's Minlegprom enterprises. At Gosagroprom processing enterprises, for 9 months the production of meat and canned goods in the meat industry has been reduced, and growth rates in the output of sausage items, butter and cheeses have been extremely low.

The fact that the construction of projects of a sociocultural nature is being carried out slowly was noted with alarm at the meeting. Plans are not being fulfilled for the commissioning of houses, schools, kindergartens, hospitals, polyclinics, houses of culture and trade schools. Kindergartens in the city of Frunze are being built particularly unsatisfactorily.

Not everything is being done to radically improve the population's food supply. In 9 months, as compared to 1987, 206 farms, or 45 percent, reduced the volumes of purchases of cattle and fowl, including 93 out of 169 farms in Osh Oblast. A significant number of kolkhozes and sovkhoses have reduced the sale of milk to the state.

It was also noted that contract obligations for the delivery of industrial production have not been completely fulfilled. The output of production which violates standard requirements and is of reduced quality is still being permitted in enterprises.

The ministries and departments are not taking sufficient steps to reduce and eliminate the unprofitability of farms and enterprises, and poorly utilize the possibilities of the new methods of economic management in this work. This relates, above all, to the Gosagroprom, Minzhilkomkhoz, Goskomtransavtodor, Minsvyaz, Minbyt and Gosstroy of the KiSSR.

The republic government has instructed the deputy chairman of the KiSSR Council of Ministers, the ministers, the chairmen of oblast, city and rayon executive committees, and leaders of enterprises and organizations of Union subordination to carefully investigate the causes of large omissions and shortcomings in the activity of sectors, associations, enterprises and organizations and to take specific steps to significantly raise the level of work in all links of the economy.

The drafts of the State Plan for Economic and Social Development and the KiSSR 1989 State Budget were examined at the meeting.

The Council of Ministers basically approved the draft resolutions on this question, presented by the republic Gosplan and Minfin, and gave the corresponding instructions on implementing remarks and suggestions expressed during the discussion of the draft plan and draft budget. The republic Council of Ministers Presidium analyzed the course of the fulfillment of the KiSSR state resolution "On Measures for Developing Fishing in the KiSSR in 1987-1990" at its meeting.

Definite results of work in this area were noted. In addition, it was indicated that the republic Gosagroprom's "Kirgizryb" Production Association, the oblistpolkoms and rayispolkoms, Gosnab, Minvodkhoz, and Glavkirgizvodstroy have not ensured the complete fulfillment of the requirements of this resolution. The Council of Ministers defined additional measures for increasing the production and catch of fish in pond farms and for improving the live fish trade in republic settlements.

The question of "The Course of Construction and Commissioning of Housing and Projects of a Social Nature in the Republic and Measures Being Taken to Fulfill the 29 September 1988 CPSU KNK Resolution on this Matter" was considered at the meeting.

It was acknowledged that the USSR People's Control Committee [KNK] had justly directed the attention of the republic Gosplan, Gosstroy, and Glavkirgizagropromstroy leaders to the unsatisfactory state of affairs in solving the housing problem, particularly in developing and using the housing construction base.

For failure to fulfill the plans for the 9 months for commissioning housing, schools, children's preschool institutions, clubs, trade schools, hospitals and polyclinics, Comrade Ablesov, Gosstroy deputy chairman, Comrade Moiseyev, Frunze Gorispolkom deputy chairman,

and Comrade Dzhaychibayev, Glavkirgizagropromstroy chief, deserve severe punishment, but instead, taking into account their assurances that the commissioning of all starting projects and the complete assimilation of allocated funds will be guaranteed within this year, the Council of Ministers Presidium strictly pointed the permitted failure out to them.

Specific tasks for implementing capital construction plans in the social sphere were defined in the resolution which was passed.

Having discussed the work of the Osh Oblispolkom to ensure the safekeeping of socialist property at tobacco processing centers and tobacco farming plants in the oblast agricultural industry, the Council of Ministers Presidium revealed serious shortcomings.

As noted at the meeting, individual leaders and workers at the tobacco processing centers and tobacco farming plants have taken the path of figure-padding, whitewashing and abuse of official position, as a result of lack of control on the part of the oblistpolkom, the rayispolkoms and economic bodies. This has led to illegal appropriation of state resources and has inflicted material damage on the sector's economy.

Comrade Konkov, Osh Oblispolkom first deputy chairman, was severely reprimanded, and Comrade Ryspayev, former minister of the republic food industry, was given stern directions for serious shortcomings permitted in organizational work to provide safekeeping for socialist property.

The Osh Oblispolkom was instructed to examine the question of the responsibility of leaders and specialists of the oblast agroprom, rayispolkoms, RAPO and farms which permitted serious shortcomings in providing safekeeping for socialist property, to hold the guilty parties strictly accountable, and to discuss these facts in labor collective meetings.

The leaders of Gosagroprom and the oblistpolkom were advised to review the existing organization of the cultivation of tobacco raw materials, and the procedures for processing and delivering it to acceptance centers, in order to exclude possible abuses and theft in the future.

Measures to strengthen the regime of economy in the KiSSR economy for 1988-1995 were examined at the meeting and were basically approved.

The republic Council of Ministers Presidium discussed cases of distortions in statistical record-keeping by the KiSSR Goskomstat.

It was noted that as a result of the irresponsibility of Comrade Polishchuk, chief, Osh Oblast Statistical Administration, gross errors were permitted in giving information on the number of farms which had reduced the volumes of sale of cattle and fowl this year, as well as



the gross output of milk. These distorted data were sent to USSR Goskomstat and were used in a discussion of the 9 months results at a USSR Council of Ministers meeting.

Comrade Konovalov, chief, KiSSR Goskomstat Main Computer Center, failed to take measures for conducting an analysis of the obtained data and the timely correction of the permitted errors.

The republic Council of Ministers directed the attention of Comrade Malabekov, chairman, KiSSR Goskomstat, and his deputy, Comrade Zulpukarov, for serious shortcomings in the work of committee subdivisions and local statistical agencies and the low level of control over their activities.

The republic Goskomstat collegium was instructed to examine the question of the responsibility of comrades Konovalov and Polishchuk, who permitted the distortions in said information.

A. Dzhumagulov, chairman, KiSSR Council of Ministers, spoke at the meeting.

#### **Kirghiz Obkom Party Conference Focuses on Personnel Changes, Secret Elections**

18300228 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA  
in Russian 29 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by G. Vladimirova, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA Special Correspondent, under the rubric "Party Life: At the Oblast Party Conferences": "It Is Time To Take the Lead"]

[Text] These days the Issyk-Kul oblast is being reformed—it has been combined with the adjacent Naryn oblast. One Party obkom has been formed in place of the two former obkoms. At the end of October, the new obkom's organizing plenum took place in Rybachye, which will become the oblast center. Naturally, the main issue at the plenum was the one relating to the Party cadres.

The Party cadres issues also were the main issues at the conference. It was good that the delegates' critical attitude was not directed toward the former leaders and no attempts were made to shift the responsibility for shortcomings to them. The communists in the new obkom have assumed responsibility for all shortages, and even the failures in the economy and in providing social and cultural services for the population.

Leaders at all levels must first of all reevaluate many of their own personal traits. One of the orators admitted honestly: "We, Party workers, are still insuring ourselves with decisions from above, we are all afraid of making a mistake".

The delegates' opinion boils down to the fact that the backwardness in the oblast's economy and culture must be overcome through glasnost and an adherence to principles in evaluations. The Party cadres' independence and initiative is also in the forefront because the time for patching up holes has elapsed.

It is very important, that initiative be less "punishable", that the democracy of party discussions not entail "groupthink" in the least, and that it no longer be necessary to pin one's hopes on either instructions or directions from above; but, on the other hand, we will have to roll up our shirt sleeves somewhat more quickly in order for people to develop trust a little more rapidly.

The system for selecting, placing, and educating the Party cadres is not self-contained, cabinet-style work. It should be a truly open system of searching for and shaping talented Party leaders and developing their professional qualities and creating conditions, under which they would be able to function with greater efficiency. And of course during the election campaign, public opinion surveys were conducted, the collectives' opinions about possible candidates for Party committee membership were elucidated at various kinds of meetings, and alternative choices between two or more candidates were advanced for Party leadership positions. The questions of Party cadres politics has been considered repeatedly by the plenums and secretariats, schools for Party reserves have been established, apprenticeships have been arranged in departments of the Kirghizia Communist Party's Central Committee and the obkoms, and testimonials and reports have been given. Everything possible has been done. But for all of this why haven't the best people risen to Party leadership positions? Why even now when forming new political bodies, according to the opinion of N. Isanov, the chairman of the oblast ispolkom, "are we forced to deal with the manifestations of careerism and with a lack of objectivity in testimonials, and at times even with elements of seniority"?

First Secretary D. Amanbayev stated in the report which he delivered to the conference that during the last three years, 72 workers, who were members of the obkom's nomenklatura, were relieved of their posts, and 38 leaders were expelled from the Party. The wording of the charges: "having failed to handle the assigned work load" and "having compromised themselves". There are also people, who were dismissed "for abusing their official position", "for insincerity" and "for an unprincipled attitude toward cases of upward distortion of plan quotas". Several Party workers also left their posts with these judgements.

That is why effective measures of eliminating favoritism, sectionalism, seniority, and the practice of moving workers who have failed from one leadership position to another, are being very seriously considered. The delegates concluded that few people consider patronage, the



nomenklatura's formal approach to Party cadres politics, a system of checks. Some people's belief in impunity and the irresponsibility of others is fraught with regrettable consequences.

The conference delegates have subjected the very principles of the obkom's work with the Party cadres to serious analysis, they have shown how to effectively protect oneself from departmental command pressure in the future, from immersion in management activities, from the passivity of party committees and the shifting of the work in training the plenums and bureaus to the Party apparatus, and this means also the drawing up of program resolutions. The Party apparatus's habit of sparing no effort to solve "burning" issues and leaving long-term issues "for later" or allowing them to take their own course was subjected to harsh criticism.

Z. Kambarova, the secretary of Ak-Suysk raykom, stated—We must abandon the practice where a superior lectures and the subordinate renders an account of the lecture. We are all working for the common cause and would like to view the obkom representatives as comrades, who are called upon not so much to inspect the local Party organizations as to work with us to solve problems which arise.

It is very usual for the Party apparatus to assign specific tasks to the executive leaders, who have been elected to the obkom staff. Cabinet-style telephonic leadership works in this instance. But in spite of this, managers also do not overlook an opportunity to secure Party support in extorting the means and materials and in assigning orders, often contrary to the interests of all working people and to true social justice.

Unfortunately, veiled bureaucracy has also slipped into many of the speeches, especially those of the raykom secretaries. However, these speeches were constructed according to a very old pattern: at first—about the obkom's "significant work" and about its "positive contribution", then a little about general shortcomings, but the main part is a vivid picture of the rayon's misfortunes and requests somewhat disguised as suggestions, which are directed to the obkom and other republic and union bodies.

But on the other hand, there were the speeches of the rank and file communists, which were marked by long-range thinking and political insight into these same management problems. S. Sukhonosov, group leader of the miners at the "Tsentralnaya" mine, did not allude to the objective reasons for the failure of the plan and the Party group organizer did not start either to shift the blame or pin one's hopes upon the authorities. He simply stated his collective's willingness to immediately begin developing a new deposit in an adjacent rayon.

V. Musnenko, a bookbinder at the oblast printing house, added,—If we have already determined that the local Party organization should become the stronghold of perestroika, then we must display greater confidence in it and provide it a real opportunity to participate in important matters.

At this point one cannot help but mention two controversial aspects of the conference. The first dealt with the economy. It appears that the echoes of the old heated arguments about the amount of livestock per farmstead, about whether or not the wealthy peasant farmstead will undermine socialism, and whether or not it will turn out that the peasant will cease to work in socialized production, have not faded away. Today, political work among the masses is necessary to explain the new changes in economic perspective and to assist in stepping out of the old rut.

The old way of thinking is making itself felt in a most unexpected way. Who could have anticipated the resentment of M. Alybayev, the editor of the oblast newspaper "Ysyk-Kol pravdasy", because of the fact that Russians were elected as second secretaries in three agricultural rayons in the new oblast. He, himself, has called this point of view banal. "We should not tolerate people saying that this represents the dictates of Moscow".

Other orators immediately rejected this point of view: these comrades were not elected because of their nationality, but because of their business-like qualities and in a short period of time they have earned the respect of the local residents. Later M. Alybayev again spoke out from the platform, attempting to explain that he had been misunderstood or he had expressed his idea imprecisely, but, nevertheless, his speech compelled several delegates to stress how important the Party cadres' efforts in fostering a culture of good relations among the nationalities are today.

To this we must add that in the Party workers' environment it is particularly necessary to form and strengthen in practice, as was stated at the XIX All-Union Party Conference, "the fundamental parameters and main features of that which we call a qualitatively new state of society". There are not and there will not be didactic methods and instructive textbooks in this area and M. Davletov, the obkom secretary, lamented over the lack of them.

It is permissible to ask the question: who, if not the obkom, will become the school for perestroika?

However, the Issyk-Kul conference, itself, in many respects has turned out to be this school. There were 166 candidates on the preliminary list, which was posted in the foyer. After the discussion and voting, 101 people remained on the list, including the candidacy of V. Fomichev, a mechanic at a remote state farm in Chuchamyr Dzhungarsk rayon, who was not a delegate to the conference, but, in the Communists' opinion, enjoys the

prestige of a most aggressive advocate of perestroika. His candidacy was included in the secret balloting and was approved by an absolute majority of the delegates. This unanimity can be considered an asset of the conference.

D. Amanbayev was elected first secretary of the Party obkom at the organizing plenum.

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**Ukase On Changes In Uzbek SSR Administrative, Territorial Divisions**

18300074a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
3 Sep 88 p 1

[Ukase on the "Introduction of Changes to the Administrative and Territorial Divisions of the Uzbek SSR" issued by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, 2 September 1988]

[Text] In accordance with the general plan for managing the economy of the Uzbek SSR and with a view toward improving the administrative and territorial division of the republic, the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To ratify the directives of the Presidium of the Karakalpakskaya ASSR Supreme Soviet:

to abolish the Bozatauskiy Rayon of the Karakalpakskaya ASSR, and to assign the Erkindarya and Kazanketen aul territories to the Kegeyliyskiy Rayon, the Aspan-tay village territory to the Muynakskiy Rayon, and the Koku village territory to the Chimbayskiy Rayon;

to transfer administrative subordination of the Nukusskiy Rayon territory of the Karakalpakskaya ASSR to the Nukus City Soviet of Peoples' Deputies and switch the administrative center of the Nukusskiy Rayon from the urban settlement of Akmangit to the city of Nukus.

2. In accordance with the petitions of the executive committees of the Soviets of Peoples' Deputies in the Andizhan, Bukhara, Dzhizak, Kashka-Darya, Navoi, Namangan, Samarkand, Syr-Darya, Fergana and Khorezm oblasts on introducing changes in the administrative and territorial divisions of the republic, to abolish:

the Bozskiy Rayon of the Andizhan Oblast and assign its territory to the Komsomolabadskiy Rayon, and to change the administrative center of the Komsomolabadskiy Rayon from the settlement of Akaltyn to the urban settlement of Boz;

the Alatskiy Rayon of Bukhara Oblast and assign its territory to the Karakulskiy Rayon;

the Peshkunskiy Rayon of Bukhara Oblast and assign its territory to the Romitanskiy Rayon;

the Zarbdarskiy Rayon of Dzhizak Oblast and assign its territory to the Zaaminskiy Rayon;

the Bakhoristanskiy Rayon of Kashka-Darya Oblast and assign its territory to the Usman-Yusupovskiy Rayon;

the Narynskiy Rayon of the Namangan Oblast and assign its territory to the Uchkurganskiy Rayon;

the Chartakskiy Rayon of Namangan Oblast and assign its territory to the Yangikurganskiy Rayon, and to change the administrative center of Yangikurganskiy Rayon from the urban settlement of Yangikurgan to the city of Chartak;

the Bolshhevistskiy Rayon of Samarkand Oblast and assign its territory to the Pastdargomskiy Rayon;

the Koshrabadskiy Rayon of Samarkand Oblast and assign the territory of the kishlak of Aktepa, Ahunbabayev, Zarmitan, and Koshrabad, and that territory of the village of Kurli which is within the boundaries of the land-tenure of the "Kommunism" sovkhoz to the Ishtykanskiy Rayon; assign the territory of Kultusun village and that part of the territory of Kurli village which is within the boundaries of the land-tenure of the "25th Party Congress" sovkhoz to the Payaryskiy Rayon; and assign the territory of Dzhush village to the Nuratinskiy Rayon;

the Komsomolskiy and Mekhnatabadskiy rayons of Samarkand Oblast and form from their territories the Yangiyerskiy Rayon with the settlement of Navruz as administrative center;

the Yazyavanskiy Rayon of Fergana Oblast and assign its territory to the Akhunbabayevskiy Rayon;

and the Yangibazarskiy Rayon of Khorezm Oblast and assign its territory to the Urgenchskiy Rayon.

To transfer administrative subordination:

of the territory of the Leninskiy Rayon in Andizhan Oblast to the Leninsk City Soviet of People's Deputies;

and of the territory of the Dzhizakskiy Rayon to the Dzhizak Soviet of Peoples' Deputies and move the administrative center of the Dzhizakskiy Rayon from the Uchtep settlement to the city of Dzhizak.

3. To establish that the deputies of rayon and city soviets elected according to electoral districts situated in the abolished territories or in the territories resubordinated to city soviets of peoples' deputies are deputies of the corresponding city and rayon soviets.

4. To move the city of Kuva in Fergana Oblast to the category of cities subordinated to a rayon.

5. The executive committees of the Soviets of Peoples' Deputies in the Andizhan, Bukhara, Dzhizak, Kashka-Darya, Navoi, namangan, Samarkand, Syr-Darya, Ferqana

and Khorezm Oblasts are carry out any measures necessitated by the changes in the oblast administrative and territorial divisions.



**Gorno-Altay AO Papers Face Conflicts in Reporting Nationalities Issues**

18300252a Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian  
No 12, Dec 88 pp 28-31

[Article by Valentina Mansurova, candidate of philological sciences: "And a 'Star' Talks With a 'Star': The Sharp Edges of the Nationality Topic"]

[Text] Journalists in Gorno-Altaysk have an enviable lot. They open the window and it is exotic; they go out the door and there is a sensational occurrence. Ones that are homespun, almost "handmade," are requested in the newspaper:

"In mid-May 16-year-olds Oleg Nuyanzin, Aleksey Salin and Oleg Chermanov skillfully excavated a Turkic burial ground dating from the Second Khanate right inside the city."

"Traces of a mammoth were discovered in Choy."

"A maral root [maraliy koren] is growing in the vegetable patch."

"A reserve is being established for wild rams."

"American tourists are swimming in the Katun [River]."

Any of the reports, even taken one by one, are worthy of publication in the central newspaper. But here the reports appear in an ordinary section, in an everyday issue of the oblast newspaper.

We must now specify which one, since there are two in Gorno-Altaysk: ZVEZDA ALTAYA in Russian and ALTAYDYN CHOLMONY in the Altay language (which translates to "Altayskaya zvezda" [Altay Star]). Only the titles of the papers are the same; they differ sharply from each other in everything else. ZVEZDA ALTAYA has a circulation of 28,000 and ALTAYDYN CHOLMONY has a circulation of 6,000. In content (all the differences are associated with this): while ZVEZDA ALTAYA finds traces of a mammoth in (Choy), ALTAYDYN CHOLMONY has just sheared the wool "from sheep on the average." While the former regularly publishes correspondence courses for those learning the Altay language independently, the latter, which is being published in it, writes about nationality problems occasionally, lapsing into silence for a long time—sometimes resentfully and sometimes...embarrassed.

An issue of ALTAYDYN CHOLMONY with verses by poet Boris Ukachin has managed to turn yellow and get buried in the files, but they still incite passions, resulting in emotional outbursts from time to time. It is difficult, based on a literal translation of the verses, to make a judgment on the poetic feeling about such a subtle and delicate subject as relationships between nationalities. But this is what they are like. The hero of one of the poems, an old Altay man, is reflecting on the immoral act

of a Russian fellow who swore at him and pushed him out of a line for...vodka. In another poem, the poet himself shares his thoughts on why Russians and Altays are buried in the same cemetery, but Kazakhs are buried in another one, although they all lived together with each other.

It is possible that the literary men of Gorno-Altaysk are indignant because their writer colleagues are attempting to look for internationalism in the cemetery. The view of B. Ukachin's adherents, who are convinced that there are no areas closed for criticism for a poet, is feasible as well. After all, this is the right of literary people—to argue about tastes and predilections. But the public repercussions resulting from publication of verses on a critical topic has immediately put the discussion into an orbit that is far away from purely poetic problems. ALTAYDYN CHOLMONY, which until this moment had been a modest and obliging newspaper, suddenly dared to burst into a prohibited area called "the nationality topic."

The organizations officially in charge of "nationality policy" and culture turned out to be taken by surprise and they did not know how to treat the verses' publication. The CPSU obkom bureau put an end to the doubts. The poet was condemned for his ideological immaturity. The newspaper's editor, S. Tyukhtenev, was given a strict party penalty and instructed not to permit the publication henceforth of works which undermine the principles of internationalism. And the subject itself? It was resolutely suppressed. Oblast newspaper journalists vainly expected that the party organs, after saying they cannot write, would come to them with an offer to discuss how it is possible to write about this.

The one-sided reaction to the nationality newspaper's first approach to the problems of interpreting the relationships between nationalities did not satisfy anyone—neither Ukachin's opponents nor his adherents. Cut off from the press but without losing its sharp edge, the topic has taken refuge in conversations of this type: "Is it really by chance that Altays are given apartments on the first and fifth floors? No, 'poli-ti-ka' [play on words for politics and floors] are here."

Meanwhile, bookshelves are breaking from printed material which praises the serene brotherhood and the local radio welcomes the cordial treatment of Mongolian shepherds... And there are no problems?

The economy of Gornyy Altay and the social atmosphere of its life have risen to the need for fundamental changes. One of the directions for the autonomous republic's further development is related to construction of the Katun GES. Should it be built or not? If yes, then how? How expedient is it to build a hydroelectric power system and is there an alternative to construction? These and many other questions have stirred up the oblast's population. Interest has intensified not only in questions

dealing with ecology, culture, and morality. Responsibility for the future of their native region is contributing to the increase in consciousness of the oblast's indigenous population, the Altays. The language, culture, traditions, and everyday life—everything has begun to be gauged by the possible prospects for their growth or decline.

Despite the fact that the plenum of the party's oblast committee on international education, held in the fall of 1987, did not mention the alarming tendencies, the facts convince us that international practice is far from idyllic. What made the students of the pedagogical institute and the young journalists of Gorno-Altaysk believe in the pseudoscientific theory of the assimilation of the indigenous population and to build their objections to the Katun GES only on it, only by fearing the disappearance of the Altay nation? What made the issue with Ukachin's verses popular? Precisely the nationality topic which came out from under the official veto.

The facet with the sharpest edge is the preservation and development of the language and the distinctive Altay national culture. Instruction has been conducted in the language of the indigenous nationality in 77—and later 75—of the autonomous oblast's 190 schools over the past decade. There were more than 80 such schools only this year. Ignorance of the language and the foundations of the national culture have had a marked effect on the level of culture itself—both the spiritual culture and the culture of everyday life. The point is that only 20 graduating students of the philological department of the local university can master their literary native language perfectly. Only those who are specializing in the study of Altay language and literature. All the rest of the teachers—of physics, chemistry, mathematics—have been released from the obligation of further study of the native language. Livestock specialists, veterinarians, and nurses who are not acquainted with its subtleties are coming out of the oblast's specialized secondary educational institutions. It is hard to say whether they are buying up the books from the local publishing house in the Altay language (the trade does not have this data at their disposal), but very few people are reading ALTAYDYN CHOLMONY. They receive 2 copies in (Choy), 17 in Turochak, 37 in (Mayma), 50 in Shebalino, and 294 in Gorno-Altaysk itself... With an indigenous population of nearly 50,000, ALTAYDYN CHOLMONY has a little over 6,000 subscribers.

Housing is being built poorly, and the structures that have fallen into decay are being repaired slowly. Interruptions in the supply of essential goods are frequent in many villages and rayon centers. Against a background of everyday squabbling and dissatisfaction with working conditions and the formal approach to relationships between nationalities, the appearance of occasional, insignificant, and unimportant "anti-Russian" and "anti-Kazakh" attitudes is not accidental.

An alarm on discord in relations between the nationalities was sounded last year from the village of Dzhezator in Kosh-Agachskiy Rayon. Altays, Kazakhs and Russians live there. Dissatisfaction with the management of

the kolkhos, which had brought the farm "up to the mark" ["do ruchki"], overflowed in the attempt by some residents to divide the farms according to nationality for the Altays and Kazakhs. There were even attempts of collective refusal to work if these aspirations were not satisfied...

Nearly all these cases have been taken from the local newspapers ZVEZDA ALTAYA and ALTAYDYN CHOLMONY. The press, by being what K. Marx termed "the vigilant eye of the people's spirit," has not been able to reflect the manifestations of turmoil in this very spirit. The most well-defined position in treating the problem of relationships between nationalities was taken by the newspaper ZVEZDA ALTAYA. It opened the topic "Speaking and Reading the Altay Language" on 26 November 1987 with a polemical statement by V. Bochkarev. The article raised the problems of Altays' study of their native language, the development of bilingualism in relationships between Altays and Russians, and the need to develop and publish Altay-Russian and Russian-Altay dictionaries and phrase books for mass circulation. The statement touched a sore spot for many persons. Two days after the article the plenum of the CPSU obkom approved the statement by ZVEZDA ALTAYA and recommended that all cultural and public education institutions in the oblast assist in resolving this problem. With the help of staff members of the Scientific Research Institute of History, Language and Literature, a correspondence school for those studying the Altay language independently made its appearance in the newspaper.

The problem raised in B. Ukachin's article "Does an Altay Need the Altay Language?" published somewhat later in ALTAYDYN CHOLMONY was no less critical. The nationality newspaper started a discussion on the quality of instruction in the native language, focusing attention on the merits and shortcomings of textbooks for the schools and the condition of the entire process of familiarizing young persons with the language of their ancestors.

The article was greeted with interest. But unlike the one published in ZVEZDA ALTAYA ("Speaking and Reading the Altay Language"), it received neither support nor approval in the CPSU obkom. This puzzled the staff members of ALTAYDYN CHOLMONY.

"Are they reading our newspaper in the obkom?" Even members of the editorial board who have more frequent contact with the oblast leadership expressed their doubts.

"They read it very seldom," contended A. Sulukov, the newspaper's executive secretary, contended, "or between the lines. Not one critical statement by the newspaper has been supported by the party's obkom. But if it is worth it for ZVEZDA ALTAYA to write about the same thing, a noise is raised right away and steps are taken. A final example: we were the first to write about repair of

the barracks that we call 'the ark,' but it was only after a statement by ZVEZDA ALTAYA that the gorispolkom got down to work. Will our newspaper really be authoritative?"

ALTAYDYN CHOLMONY translator V. Toyenov wrote in ZHURNALIST (No 9, 1986) about the newspaper's failure to treat specific problems and the ineffectiveness of its statements. In responding to the journal, the party's Gorno-Altay Obkom promised to devote particular attention to the amount of substance in the newspaper, and to "assist," "promote," "help," and so forth. Enough time has passed for what was outlined to be implemented. And what is the result of the assistance and help? As before, the newspaper is filled with long, boring articles on agricultural production technology and the methods of shearing sheep and combing down—what doesn't it write about by painstakingly avoiding the controversial topics!

"Time is needed for such a topic, but where do you get it if each staff member has the responsibility to submit 240 lines every day. Anything, if only it is submitted! If you do not fulfill the norm they will cut off your fee." This is the way P. Adarov, a young department head, explained the lack of controversy in the newspaper's statements.

The fee is a necessary thing, and everyone tries to fulfill the norm. As a result, a report written by 9 May will appear on 8 July: they were overstocked. And materials on the soldiers who served in Afghanistan appear under the rubric "We Are Internationalists." Why go to Kosh-Agach and investigate the reasons for complications in relationships between Altays and Kazakhs when the norm can be fulfilled by such lines? Especially as it is safer now to write about internationalism in Afghanistan...

"You need only begin speaking on the subject of 'nationality interest,'" correspondent S. Temeyev noted, "when they stop you in the middle of a sentence: 'Suppose this is nationalism?'"

The oblast leaders' attitude toward the nationality paper may be explained not by a careful regard for this really complicated subject but by the desire to consider it seriously and thoughtfully. Since the first days of its existence, and the newspaper was established on 1 June 1922, it set the objective of shaping proletarian internationalism among the masses of the indigenous population. KRASNYYE IZVESTIYA, OYROTSKIY KRAY, and KRASNAYA OYROTIYA (as ALTAYDYN CHOLMONY was called until 1948), and later on, ALTAYSKAYA ZVEZDA did a great deal to ensure that a friendly family of many nations and nationalities was formed in Gornyy Altay. It was not without reason that ALTAYDYN CHOLMONY was awarded the Badge of Honor in 1972.

But it appears that recognition of the newspaper's successes set the oblast leaders at ease so much that an optimistic perception of all its failures and blunders has

been maintained since the 1970's. The newspaper's circulation has increased by just 372 copies since 1970. Why shouldn't they be alarmed, and why shouldn't they make journalists responsible for the lack of the publication's popularity?

An unconstructive atmosphere has taken shape in the editorial staff collective (reproaches, offenses). Many want changes, especially the young staffers, but those on the editorial board who are chronologically "old" and cautious in their views are not interested in them. The paper's editor, S. Tyukhtenev, made a vow not to risk his pension after receiving a strict reprimand for including Ukachin's verses. His pension is not far off, but what will waiting for it do for the collective and what is the cost to the reader?

The lack of an overall, carefully considered concept for the development of relations between nationalities is leading to the point that the oblast's mass media and propaganda interpret very unambiguous problems differently, and sometimes in contradictory ways. So the sentence from V. Bochkarev's sensible and interesting article that the Altay language has been turned into "the language of writers and cattle breeders in the high mountains" caused bewilderment. Those who speak it and do not herd sheep in the mountains took offense at the journalist. And probably with good reason?

The national theater staged a play based on the novel by A. Koptelov, "Velikoye kochevye" [The Great Nomad Camp]. The story, about historical events and the importance of the October Revolution for the lives of the Altay peoples, was intended as a frank statement, as an invitation to dialogue about the past and future of the heroes and their progeny in "The Great Nomad Camp." Not everything that had been intended managed to be realized on the stage. The audience did not receive the interpretation of the negative aspects of the Altays' life and the lack of inspired ideas of revolution did not satisfy the people. But it was no trouble for ALTAYDYN CHOLMONY to come forth with a tactful review of the play and how it was followed by a strong reproof from the theater's chief producer, Ye. Yegorov. The newspaper was blamed for the fact that, "instead of contributing to the troupe's unity, it is stirring up unwholesome tendencies." And where was the lesson for the "dissidents" from ALTAYDYN CHOLMONY presented? In ZVEZDA ALTAYA! The more than strange position of their writer colleagues forced the staffers of ALTAYDYN CHOLMONY to appeal to CPSU Obkom Secretary B. Alushkin: "Let us finally discuss our views and work out a unified platform."

Alas, there was no response to the appeal. And arbitrary opinions that are not always proper continue to be heard from those who propagandize and shape the ideology and culture of internationalism. As an example, ZVEZDA ALTAYA, which treats a large number of the problems in relationships between nationalities with restraint, can categorically state that the critical attitude



toward construction of the Katun GES is "discrimination against the indigenous population of Gornyy Altay." After all, the GES will not only provide electricity, but houses and roads have been promised with it. And this means that any question about the ecological and economic advisability of the hydroelectric power project's construction is an attempt to slow down improvement in the standard of living of the oblast's indigenous residents—the Altays.

The article was written by S. Katash, member of the USSR Union of Writers and doctor of philological sciences. But since this assertion was not followed by any objections and the newspaper did not give the floor to other readers who do not interpret the matter so one-sidedly, does this mean that it shares the viewpoint of its author? Meanwhile, according to statistics, 63.2 of the people in Gornyy Altay are Russians, 29.2 are Altays, and 5 percent are Kazakhs. What is to be done with the interests of the other population that has "taken root" here?

A large number of new accents have appeared in the dialogue of the peoples who live in the oblast. To hear them and to correctly understand and report them to the people means to really throw light on the contradictory process of development. In the party's obkom and oblsolkom they continue to be politely oblivious to these accents. There is not even a hint of a constructive program to resolve the contradictions in the life of this oblast, either in the decisions by the plenum on international education or the decree on the critical statements by oblast newspapers adopted in February 1987.

An article on the autonomous oblast's nationality problems was published in August by the kray newspaper, ALTAYSKAYA PRAVDA. It was not followed by a response from Gorno-Altaysk. In September this statement was supported by the CPSU kraykom, which approved a decree on certain problems in relations between nationalities and international education. Both of the "stars" [the oblast newspapers] promptly reprinted the decree. But there have been no ideas from journalists yet about how to treat the nationality topic. ALTAYDYN CHOLMONY remains silent. ZVEZDA ALTAYA published an article and apparently is not pleased with it: there is discord with "a nationality accent" again.

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**Multilingual Efforts of Tajik Media Noted**  
18300252b Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian  
No 12, Dec 88 pp 31-32

[Article by K. Normatov under the "Timely Topic" rubric: "In the Native Language"]

[Text] In leafing through the newspaper KOMSOMOLI TOZHİKISTON (KOMSOMOLETS TADZHİKISTANA),

I noticed the unusual materials. A Tajik-Russian and Russian-Tajik phrase book is being published here through the issue. A vital necessity in a republic with a polyglot population. Just as it is to provide the residents of different nationalities with the opportunity to obtain information in their native language.

Of the republic's newspapers, 27 are published in two or three languages: Tajik, Uzbek and Russian. The bulletin of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet is also published in these same languages.

Radio broadcasts are in seven languages, and television is broadcast in three. The residents of Samarkand and Bukhara are able to watch Tajik television.

The Secretariat of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee has adopted a decision to provide Tajik schools in Uzbekistan with textbooks and methodical literature. And Uzbek book stores are being opened in Tajikistan's cities. The works of Uzbek writers and journalists are being published in Dushanbe in the original language.

Does all this mean that problems between nationalities have been resolved here? In the search for an answer to this question, I went to the editorial staff of the newspaper KHAKIKATI KURGANTEPPA (KURGAN-TYUBINSKAYA PRAVDA), the organ of the Kurgan-Tyube Obkom of the Tajik Communist Party and the oblast council of people's deputies. It is an unusual newspaper: three pages in Tajik and one page in Uzbek. Subscribers to it are Tajiks and Uzbeks, as well as Turkmens and Kirghiz who know Tajik or Uzbek.

There were gatherings at the editorial staff: a team of journalists was being sent to Afghanistan to prepare the next joint issue of the newspapers KHAKIKATI KURGANTEPPA and KUNDUZ, the organ of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in Kunduz province. The leader of the team was editor M. Abdurakhmanov, a Tajik, and photographer R. Khamidov is an Uzbek.

The newspaper has published joint editions time and again with Leninabad Oblast (Tajik SSR) and Surkhandarya Oblast (Uzbek SSR). We are speaking about the publication of such issues in the editor's office. A surprising fact: we speak in Tajik, occasionally in Uzbek, and summarize in Russian. The correspondent for the republic newspaper published in Uzbek, SOVET TOZHİKISTONI (SOVETSKIY TADZHİKISTAN), S. Kakhkharov, joins our discussion.

It turns out that only six of the 11 rayon newspapers in the oblast are published simultaneously in two languages—Tajik and Uzbek. The Yavanskiy Rayon paper may also be published in Russian—there is a demand. The paper in Dzhilikulskiy Rayon is published in Turkmen.

"We are not lulled by the words 'inviolable friendship,' 'mutual ties,' and 'brotherhood of cultures,'" Mukim Abdurakhmanov says. "In my view, the practice of

international relationships is overcoming the conflicts that are indispensable for any process in resolving problems, sometimes the ones that have not been known until now. In our meetings, the articles, reports and authors that pass over the problems of relationships between nationalities in silence during the period of restructuring are sharply criticized."

There is a Kirghiz school at the Kolkhoz imeni Lomonosov in Shvartuzskiy Rayon, but it does not have enough training and methods accessories. Have any of the local journalists given thought to this? After all, the alarm had to be sounded in the newspaper and an appeal made to the public education organs in the Kirghiz SSR.

Or take the problems associated with study of the Russian language. Ignorance of it hinders access to world culture, narrows contacts between nationalities, and makes the establishment of a healthy climate difficult in collectives.

The school named after the Uzbek poet Gafur Gulyam in Yavanskiy Rayon is considered experimental for thorough study of the Russian language, and teacher G. Shmelev is considered an innovator. Russian Language Day was once weekly here before, now it is on 3 days. Gennadiy Nikolayevich's former students who now

teach Russian language and literature often come to see him. Speaking in the newspaper about his meetings with them, G. Shmelev observes: "We share experience and make suggestions to each other. But there are not quite enough gifted specialists in Russian philology, although there is an institute in Dushanbe where they are training Russian language teachers..."

Articles devoted to such problems seldom appear in the local press, unfortunately. And after all, a critical shortage of trained teachers is being felt in the republic, and the schools are short of more than 1,000 specialists today.

Kurgan-Tyube Oblast was consolidated with Kulyab Oblast recently. Khatlon Oblast, which was formed, makes up one-third of the republic. The newspaper KHAKIKATI KHATLON has begun publishing here. I think that one of its most important objectives should be international education, which presumes the aspiration and ability to assemble a few of the things that help to bring the nations and nationalities of our country closer together.

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**Public Opinion on Interethnic Relations in LaSSR Surveyed**

18000309 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
11 Dec 88 p 4

[Interview with A.I. Ivanov, head of the Center for the Study and Forecasting of Social Opinion, by S. Lyalyushkin: "Interethnic Relations: Sociologist's Comments"]

[Text] On the eve of the Forum of the Peoples of Latvia, specialists from the Center for the Study and Forecasting of Social Opinion, under the Latvian CP Central Committee Party History Institute, conducted a study of social opinion on questions of interethnic relations in the republic. LATINFORM correspondent S. Lyalyushkin met with the center's head, A.I. Ivanov, and asked him a number of questions.

[Lyalyushkin] Azyi Isayevich, on the whole, how do you evaluate the situation that has formed in this area of the republic's social life today?

[Ivanov] The survey of social opinion confirmed the assumption that recently the processes of interethnic relations in the republic have basically maintained the previous tendency. While the situation has worsened somewhat, it has not done so as much, as it might seem at first glance. However, public interest in this area of social life has increased several-fold. In addition, a somewhat deformed concept of the dynamics of development of interethnic relations has become widespread in society.

By the way, let us switch to the language of facts. Approximately two-thirds of our respondents believe that, as a result of the situation which has taken shape in the republic, relations between representatives of different nationalities has worsened recently. However, only half of them admitted that they personally had not participated in conflicts due to nationality more often than before. About one-fifth of those surveyed believe that interethnic relations in the republic have been aggravated, although once again they personally have not entered into conflicts over this subject more often than before.

According to the obtained results, we singled out several groups which display a tendency toward conflict with representatives of other nationalities. Young people under the age of 20—basically schoolchildren and students—form one of these groups. About 60 percent of them admit that they have recently become involved in conflicts for reasons of nationality more often than before. Basically, the other group is formed of republic residents who have been living in Latvia for less than 10-15 years. Meanwhile, friction due to ethnic reasons occurs more frequently in Riga, than in other cities of the republic.

The materially supported strata of the population in the republic form a separate group. Here, the following

conclusion is a possibility: the higher the standard of living, the less desire to participate in conflicts over ethnic differences in opinion. Thus, for example, 50 percent of those who live in their own homes, as well as 68 percent of people whose possibilities make it possible to meet any kind of, it goes without saying, reasonable need, do not enter into conflicts.

[Lyalyushkin] Incidentally, this attests to some extent to the socioeconomic origins of interethnic conflicts in the republic.

[Ivanov] Obviously. By the way, conflicts most often occur on the streets, on public transport, and at domestic service enterprises. They occur far less often in labor collectives and state institutions. You have probably noticed this yourself.

Now, about language: 93 percent of the people we surveyed, regardless of their nationality, profession, age and place of residence, believe that a knowledge of both Latvian, as well as Russian is mandatory for every resident of the republic. On the whole, one-third of our respondents admitted that they had personally experienced difficulties due to the fact that he or his unwilling opposite knew one of these two languages insufficiently. Twenty-two percent of the Latvians, 42 percent of the Russians, and 30 percent of the representatives of other nationalities who were surveyed recalled this.

The answers to the question: "What kinds of factors cause difficulties for reason of language?" attest to the fact that the opinion of the representatives of different nationalities on this subject does not coincide.

On the average, 70 percent of the survey participants name a reason such as disrespect toward the Latvian language on the part of individuals. So, for example, among Latvians, 88 percent of our respondents cite this factor. Among other nationalities, this opinion is shared by about 50 percent of those surveyed.

On the other hand, about 85 percent of the Russian-speaking population and one-half of all Latvians surveyed believe that many conflicts are caused by the disrespectful attitude of a certain segment of Latvians toward people who do not know Latvian. There is more. On the average, one-third of our respondents admit that complications are also caused in some cases by a formal, administrative approach towards expanding the environment for the use of the Latvian language. Incidentally, the Latvians themselves, 43 percent of whom cited this factor as provoking conflicts, are of a critical mind in this case.

[Lyalyushkin] What is your evaluation of the role of social organizations in creating prerequisites for normalizing interethnic relations?

[Ivanov] The general picture is reflected in the following table.



	Work Believed to Contribute to Developing Normal Interethnic Relations (% of those surveyed)
Soviets of Peoples Deputies	25
Latvian CP Central Committee	44
Latvian CP Raykoms and Primary Party Organizations	30
Trade Unions	15
Komsomol Central Committee	20
Komsomol Raykoms and Primary Organizations	15
Labor Collective Councils	33
Creative Unions	46

Forty and 22 percent of Latvians positively rated the role of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and its lower units, respectively. This is somewhat lower, than that of Russians (49 and 39 percent). Only 8 percent of those surveyed noted that, in their opinion, the activity of the Latvian CP Central Committee does not contribute to the normal development of interethnic relations.

Incidentally, rural residents rated the role of the soviets higher, than the remaining social groups in the republic did. Conversely, people in Riga rated it somewhat lower, really, than residents of the other cities in Latvia did.

How was the activity of the creative unions in the republic rated? Let us look at the table:

	Contributes to Development of Interethnic Relations (%)	Has No Influence (%)	Hinders Development of Interethnic Relations (%)	Hard to Rate (%)
CPSU members	37	8	25	25
Komsomol members	51	8	4	32
Non-party members	49	8	7	30
Latvians	66	7	3	20
Russians	22	9	19	44
Representatives of other nationalities	24	10	25	36

Among the respondents, there were also people who did not give a simple answer. Incidentally, employees of administrative and law enforcement agencies, as compared to other professional groups, rated the role of the creative unions the most critically—only 11 percent of people belonging to this group of republic residents rated their role positively.

What else is it important to note here? The republic's population gave the activity of party agencies and the creative unions the highest rating for shaping healthy prerequisites for the development of interethnic relations. At the same time, it is impossible not to recall in this regard, that their activity was also criticized the most frequently. In my opinion, this is the entirely natural consequence of any kind of fruitful work.

[Lyalyushkin] The republic's mass information media, unquestionably, are the most important support for its residents in the search for answers to the topical questions of social life...

[Ivanov] Entirely true. Incidentally, 87 percent of the people we surveyed regularly read the republic newspapers, watch television and listen to the radio. Recently, the intensiveness of the use of these sources of information has been growing. Even a few months ago, judging by the results of a survey conducted at that time by the Center for the Study of Social Opinion, the Latvian population, in proportion, for instance, to the Russian-speaking population, displayed relatively greater attention to the mass information media.

These differences have balanced out to a significant extent now. To a certain degree, this attests to changes that have occurred since then in the work of the mass information media. Topical questions of life in the republic, particularly for those who do not speak Latvian, have begun to be covered more reliably and promptly. Naturally, this led to the fact that previously less active strata of the republic's population began to participate more in its social life.

Today, many of us are judging the fairly difficult and complex social problems of the republic on the basis of information received in the process of interacting with friends, colleagues or people simply met casually. It seems, on the whole, that this fact would not be cause for alarm, if not for one important circumstance. This form of exchange of information holds an unjustifiably high place in our life. For instance, the survey results speak of this quite eloquently. Judge for yourself: 59 percent of the respondents cite such interaction as a basic source for obtaining information.

It should also be added that, unfortunately, this channel of communication does not ensure the necessary objectivity of the information being transmitted. What is even worse, it is a potential medium for one-sided, consciously or unconsciously distorted information. The inadequate activeness of concepts about what is taking place in the republic are growing accustomed to public opinion. True, and our studies confirm this, recently a trend toward reducing the information significance of these contacts has been noted.

[Lyalyushkin] Some readers are expressing doubt about the reliability of the survey results, if they themselves or their friends did not participate directly in it. Such

distrust is usually based on a lack of sociological literacy. Perhaps you could explain on what you base your conclusions?

[Ivanov] If I may put it briefly, on the sample method. What is that? It is a method in which the result of a survey of that part of the republic residents, included in the so-called sample group, in practice coincide with the results of a "total" survey of the entire population. In this connection, in practice the precision of the result does not increase. You would agree that, in order to determine the taste of a soup, there is no need to eat the contents of the entire bowl: a single spoonful is sufficient.

[Lyalyushkin] Well then, bon appetit and success in your scientific search!

### **UkSSR Legal Official on Sanctions Against Public Meetings**

18110030a Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA  
in Ukrainian 9 Dec 88 p 3

[Interview with Ukrainian SSR First Deputy Public Prosecutor M. O. Potebenko, by RADYANSKA UKRAYINA reporter L. Ruta: "Freedom of Assembly and Rule of Law"]

[Text] It was not too long ago that the comment was still being made that the entire Soviet people comprise an integral monolith. We had a single opinion on all matters. We voted unanimously for everything. And public demonstrations were limited to holiday occasions. Today, in a period of restructuring, democracy, and glasnost, people have begun doing a great deal of thinking and have begun demanding genuine freedoms as prescribed by the Constitution. Of course there have been some serious problems when here and there extremist-minded groups of citizens have taken to the streets. The editors of the newspaper RADYANSKA UKRAYINA have asked First Deputy Public Prosecutor of Ukrainian SSR M. O. Potebenko to answer a number of questions pertaining to the law as it applies to regulating the conduct of mass meetings and public gatherings.

[Ruta] Mykhaylo Oleksiyovych, I have just finished reading Yuriy Shcherbak's documentary novella "Chernobyl." In it the author states: "I am convinced that the Kiev city executive committee and its chairman Zhurskyy personally bear full responsibility for what happened in Kiev on 26 April 1988.... V. A. Zhurskyy... should have shown interest in the proposal by some entirely well-intentioned and law-abiding citizens of Kiev and thought to himself: what would be better to have? A mass meeting organized and conducted by responsible persons, or a spontaneous demonstration (incidentally, such a thing is also sanctioned by the Constitution), which resulted from an unwarranted prohibition by the municipal authorities?" What is your

personal opinion in this regard? How does the law today view citizens' right to hold gatherings, mass meetings, and demonstrations?

[Potebenko] Freedom of assembly, including the freedom to hold mass meetings, just as other forms of manifestation of socialist democracy, is formally articulated in the USSR Constitution and in the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR. In particular, citizens are guaranteed freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, and freedom to hold mass meetings, street processions, and demonstrations. Exercise of these political freedoms is ensured by providing working people and their organizations with public buildings, streets and squares, and the opportunity publicly to announce such events, utilizing newspapers, television, and radio. Nevertheless one should bear in mind the constitutional requirement that utilization by citizens of these political freedoms shall not cause detriment to the interests of society and the state or infringe upon the rights of other citizens.

In conditions of increasing civic activeness by working people and exercise of their right to freedom of assembly, there has arisen the need to regulate order pertaining to the organization and conduct of such activities. In connection with this, on 28 July 1988 the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet issued an edict entitled "On Procedure of Organization and Conduct of Gatherings, Including Mass Meetings, Street Processions and Demonstrations in the USSR." The edict states that in order to hold public gatherings, mass meetings, etc. authorized representatives of workforces, public organizations, and individual groups of citizens must apply in writing to the executive committee of the appropriate soviet of people's deputies no later than 10 days prior to the scheduled date of said gathering. The executive committee in turn shall inform the applicants of its decision no later than 5 days prior to the date of the scheduled event as indicated in the application. The executive committee is empowered, when necessary, to suggest another time and place for the requested event.

Pursuant to Article 4 of the edict, public gatherings, mass meetings, street processions, and demonstrations shall be conducted in conformity with the purpose stated in the application, and shall be held at the designated time and at the designated place. In the conduct of these activities the authorized representatives (organizers) as well as other participants shall observe the appropriate laws and maintain public order. They are forbidden to have weapons in their possession, as well as other objects, prepared by them or adapted for the occasion, which can be used against people's lives and health or to cause property damage to government and public organizations and private citizens.

[Ruta] Yes, Mykhaylo Oleksiyovych, I fully understand that permission is required for mass events, and I understand the obligations of their organizers and participants. But what I do not understand is the following.

For what reason did the executive committee forbid a demonstration, as Shcherbak states, by entirely law-abiding citizens, without even stating its reasons. In addition, it has the police at its disposal. And instead of giving permission, instead of going to the people and talking with them (I once observed this in Poltava. There the authorities went out to the demonstrators and gave replies to their rather sharp, pointed questions), they simply prohibit the activity. And uniformed police go after those who, in spite of the ban, take to the street. Is this the right way to do things? Does the executive committee bear certain responsibility to the people for prohibiting a demonstration without stating its reasons?

[Potebenko] Well, this happens. Permitting a demonstration to be held, and in addition going out to face people requires considerable effort and additional hassle. It is much easier to prohibit, to give instructions to the police and, as a great satirist put it, "drag off rather than let go." Nevertheless there are times when such a prohibition is entirely legitimate. For example, an executive committee is empowered to prohibit gatherings, mass meetings, street processions or demonstrations the purpose of which is contrary to the USSR Constitution, the constitutions of the union and autonomous republics, or threatens public order and the security of citizens. They must be stopped on the demand of the authorities if a request to hold the event was not submitted in advance or if a decision was made to prohibit the event, as well as if there is violation of the manner and procedure of their conduct, if there occurs danger to the life and health of citizens, and if there is violation of public order.

[Ruta] I agree with you entirely. We experienced the severe ordeal of war, and we lost family and loved ones. And it is understandable that none of us wants bloodshed or suffering in peacetime, under no circumstances whatsoever. Nevertheless unwarranted prohibiting of activities in a time of perestroika, democracy, and glasnost only irritates people. For that reason all such requests should be approached intelligently and with fair consideration. And this means working on a regular basis with all segments of the public. Do you not agree?

[Potebenko] It is certainly true that, as they say, you won't get far today with thoughtless prohibition of activities. Nevertheless in our country, just as in any society, there are different kinds of people. And this must be borne in mind. In this country we have genuine campaigners for perestroika, while on the other hand, if you will forgive me, we also have rowdies and loud-mouthed troublemakers. They do not care about the interests of society or the country, but they are certainly enthusiastic partisans of shouting and attempting to get others to go along with them. And practical experience indicates that such troublemakers do harm to everybody. Therefore appropriate measures must be taken against them. Therefore persons who have violated the established procedure of organizing and holding gatherings, mass meetings, street processions, and demonstrations bear responsibility for these actions as specified by law.

Incidentally, on 3 August 1988 the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet issued a special edict for the purpose of maintaining public order and defending the rights and interests of citizens in the conduct of mass activities. This edict establishes legal liability for violating proper procedures pertaining to organizing or holding public gatherings, mass meetings, street processions and demonstrations, in the form of a warning or fine in an amount up to 300 rubles, and in exceptional instances, when application of these measures is considered insufficient in view of the circumstances of the case and considering the person of the violator in question, administrative detention for a period up to 15 days. These same actions, committed repeatedly by an organizer of public gatherings, mass meetings, street processions, and demonstrations, over the course of 1 year following application of administrative measures, will result in a fine of up to 1,000 rubles or a sentence of corrective labor for a term of from 1 to 2 months, or administrative detention for a period of up to 15 days. The law also provides for criminal liability: imprisonment for up to 6 months or corrective labor for a term of up to 1 year, or a fine of up to 2,000 rubles for violation of the procedure for organization or conduct of public gatherings, mass meetings, street processions and demonstrations, committed by their organizer during the course of 1 year following application of administrative penalties for such actions.

[Ruta] Forgive me, Mykhaylo Oleksiyovych, but it is disturbing to hear this. Do you think these mass meetings and demonstrations are unnecessary? One gets the impression that the entire punitive part, so to speak, of the edict maintains the spirit of the notorious principle of police justice. In fact is this not excessively severe for our humanitarian society?

[Potebenko] And how else would you protect the interests of the state, society, and citizens? I have already stated that for citizens who observe the proper procedure of holding demonstrations, who conscientiously adhere to these procedures, participation in such activities presents no danger. But in a number of localities, particularly in Lvov and Kiev, there have been instances of conduct of so-called "mass meetings" which essentially were nothing other than a mob of demagogues taking advantage of democratic rights to the detriment of perestroika. Obviously this does harm to the cause of democratization of society, creates animosity among people, and causes disorder. The Soviet people will simply not accept this. And the refusal of the Soviet people to accept such a thing has found expression in corresponding legislative enactments. And the law applies to everybody and must be unwaveringly obeyed by all members of society.

Democracy is inconceivable without ensuring the rule of law in all domains of societal affairs. The organizers of mass meetings must also understand this. Let us gather together and discuss the vital problems of perestroika, ecology, peaceful coexistence, and culture. But at the



same time, as befits Soviet citizens, let us be concerned with order. As the doctors say, don't abuse your health. In conducting mass activities, we too must always make sure that we do not do harm to the state, society, or to one another, but rather bring benefit.

#### **New Census Forces Soviets to Confront Issues of Homeless, Unemployed**

18300236 Moscow TRUD in Russian 7 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by T. Borisjuk: "People From 'The Lowest Depths': How Can They Be Helped?"]

[Text] The all-union population census is not so far off, but already today it is clear that there are not a few people who, in all certainty, will not be listed in the official reports. We are talking about those who do not have either a place of residence or work. These are popularly called the "scourges" [bichy] or the "trouble-makers" [trudniki]... According to M. Gorkiy, they are the people "from the lowest depths." Only, indeed, we have them here with us TODAY, and not during the times when the well-known play was written. This is a complex phenomenon, one that is also related to the recent times of stagnation, of dual morality... Indeed, nobody is born a vagrant. Many had work, families, homes. How can they be helped?

More than 300 "scourges" have been delivered to the Krivoy Rog reception and distribution center this year alone. As a rule, they are without documents, without work, and without a permanent place of residence. You can't call sewer culverts, boiler rooms, lofts and other similar places a "residence." Several dozen criminals, the subjects of searches, were discovered among them. Sixty-eight will be treated at the LTP [expansion not given]; 116 will be supplied with passports and sent for job placement.

"I am more than certain that, after some time, a majority of these people will again end up with us," says the deputy chief of the Krivoy Rog reception and distribution center, Anatoliy Varfolomeyevich Komarov. "If, earlier, our base enterprises used to accept vagrants for work, albeit with a squeal, now, under conditions of economic accountability, they are a burden. Guided by the 'Law on the Enterprise (Association),' the brigades are flatly rejecting the 'scourges' on the ground that they can expect both absenteeism and faulty work from them and that because of this the others will not receive bonuses or their 13th month salaries...

To queries about the availability of working places, the resourceful directors write to the special reception center that they need high-ranking workers, understanding full well that such ones are rare among the "scourges." The leadership of the Dzerzhinskiy ore equipment maintenance [rudoremontniy] plant also set entirely absurd conditions: He declared that he would welcome lathe operators of the 3rd and 4th ranks who have a local residence permit. They hit right in the "bull's-eye" here:

Nobody will go to them. What kind of ranks, and most important, what kind of residence permits do vagrants have?

The attitude of local soviet organs toward the "scourges" can be judged by the following fact: The chairman of the Krivoy Rog city soviet executive committee, G. Gutovskiy, did not deign even to give an answer to a request by the reception and distribution center for help in arranging jobs and permits for people who are cut off from life. And, indeed, they are not alone.

Of course, nobody is against economic accountability, bonuses, and high labor discipline, but indeed it is necessary somehow to also resolve the fate of these people who have been forgotten by society.

Is there a way out of this vicious circle?

In the first place, as the specialists believe, the time has come to concern ourselves seriously with solution of the problem of vagrants, of which, clearly, there are many thousand throughout the country. Perhaps it would be worthwhile to create regional specialized dormitories for them? At the same time, at large plants where jobs could be found for them. Indeed, many of them are able to work and would be willing to do any kind of work, even unskilled for a start.

More than once, we have had occasion to take part in raids conducted by workers of the militia. Not the most pleasant of activities, honestly speaking: bazaars, dumps, grave yards, lofts... At the bazaars, as a rule, in the summer and autumn, the "scourges" are selling their trophies—fruits and vegetables stolen from suburban dachas. In the dumps, they are looking for things they can sell, or trade. Some frequently hire themselves out to receptive smart dealers who are interested only in the possibility of living off such cheap slave labor. The cost—a "fiver" and a bottle of one-ruble Eau-de-Cologne a day...

The militia is involved with vagrants. With the approval of the procuracy, a detainee can be kept at the reception and distribution center for up to 30 days. Here, during this time, his personality is established and checks are made whether he perhaps has any "sins" in his past. If everything is relatively normal, he is issued a new passport and is given help in finding a job.

It is more difficult to help people of advanced years.

"We try to get a place for such people in homes for the elderly," says A. Komarov. "But there are lines everywhere, and sometimes we are not successful in obtaining an assignment within a short period of time, although they are meeting us half-way in the allocation of additional places. The question can be loudly asked here: 'And what about the organs of social security? Are they really so indifferent to the destiny of these people who have been degraded to the bottom of society?' Indeed,

the formulation of documents drags out so long that one can do little more than to go look again for where the old person has his pad. It happens, especially in winter, that it is already too late when they find him.

Who are these people? Why have they sunk so low and what is preventing them from returning to a normal life?

I have been able to talk with many of them, and the directors of the reception and distribution center have also told me many things. In the course of this, the widespread stereotype of the vagrant as a social cast-off has slowly, but fundamentally collapsed. Take a little closer look at him, try to peer into his soul, and you will understand that there are really not so many inveterate reprobates among the "scourges." The greater part of them are people to whom, for various reasons, the "fates have been unkind." Incidentally, among them there are many technically skilled people, representatives of the creative professions. Some have higher education, there are even candidates of science. Many of those with whom I became acquainted have a sharp sense of social justice. And they all, in their moment of despair, have felt they do not have the support and help of their coworkers, friends and relatives. And it is not rare that those surrounding them have pushed them to the "depths" by their indifference, completely severing the tie which binds these people to society.

Such was the fate of Aleksandr D. He finished a technical higher educational institute. Then the law faculty at the university. Interesting work in the procuracy, promising an excellent future. Family. What more, it would seem, does a person need? But then, against all expectations, everything went to hell: His family life fell apart—his wife deceived and left him for another, things went bad at work... Suddenly everything that, just yesterday, had seemed unshakable, appeared unimportant, deceitful, unneeded. He reached a decision—to abandon everything and to set out for wherever his feet led him. And he went, leaving to his family everything that he had earned, except the clothes on his back. Nobody wasted away with grief because of him, nobody stood in his way...

How often do we walk by such unfortunate, weak-willed people, trying "not to notice" them—and by doing so, push them toward a fatal step. We read about them, write in a commiserating tone, but... very soon again submit to a sense of complacency—this, indeed, has not happened with us...

And where is that collectivism to which hymns were sung by the social scientists of stagnation, that spirit of comradeship inherent to the people of our "most humane" country, as we became accustomed (and, to be sure, not without reason) to consider it? But now? Before our eyes, people are sinking to "the lowest depths"—and we are starting to become accustomed to this... And,

indeed, for a person struck by misfortune there frequently no longer is very much attention, warmth, commiseration. And the main thing—practical, concrete help.

#### **Views on Kirghiz-Russian Relationship Expressed 18330402a**

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETNIK KYRGYZSTAN in Kirghiz 13, 28, 29 October carries three articles highlighting various aspects of the development and significance of Kirghiz-Russian relations since Kirghizia was annexed by Russia 125 years ago.

S. Tabyshaliyev [13 October, page 3], noting that the party demands that historians approach history "in a neutral and completely objective manner," maintains that in "studying and analyzing the progressive consequences of Kirghizia's entrance into the body of Russia, much work remains before the historian. If we subject new documents to the 'vortex' of science and publish them openly without censorship, we will be able to re-examine many events in Kirghizia's history and deeply explore the historical roots of the friendly relations of the Kirghiz with Russian and other people."

A meeting at the Kirghiz Academy of Sciences [reported by KirTAG on 28 October, page 1] to mark the 125th anniversary of Kirghizia's annexation by Russia complained that "through incompetent meddling by the former leadership of the CC KCP, historical science in our republic, including the question of the 'progressive results of incorporating Kirghizia into Russia,' has suffered. Often, materials did not correspond with facts and there was either no discussion of certain historical figures or their achievements were distorted." It was added that now historical research must be divorced from "vulgar sociology."

The historian J. Junushaliyev [29 October, page 3] points out that "the voluntary joining of Kirghizia to Russia accelerated socioeconomic and cultural development in this territory and eliminated the Kirghiz people's fear of oppression and ethnic assimilation by a backward feudal-despotic state [he means China]. Armed conflicts among the tribes and disputes between them began to be settled peacefully. This laid the foundation for the development of a Kirghiz national community." At the same time, the local population was oppressed by "bays and manaps" on the one hand and "a tsarist administration which protected Great Russian bureaucrats, kulak-colonizers and the bourgeoisie;" this led to a revolutionary situation.

#### **Housing Featured in 1989 Census 18330402b**

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETNIK KYRGYZSTAN in Kirghiz 7 October 1988 carries on page 4 a 1400 word interview with S. Smol'nikova, deputy chairman of the

Kirghiz SSR State Statistical Committee, on the composition and organization of the 1989 census in the Kirghiz SSR. Seven of the 25 questions pertain to housing and living conditions: to whom does the dwelling belong, when was it built, its size, and what materials were used in its exterior.

A question on place of birth and present residence will aid in the analysis of migration problems. Other questions concern family composition and languages. Twenty two thousand people will take part in conducting the census in the Kirghiz SSR's 382 census districts. For purposes of comparison, she notes that in 1979 the average family contained 4.6 members; 3.8 in urban areas and 5.3 in rural areas.

#### **Need for Contact with Kirghiz Abroad Stressed** 18330402c

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETIK KYRGYZSTAN in Kirghiz 18 October 1988 carries on page 4 a 700 word article by M. Tentimishev, a student at the Tashkent Higher Party School, headlined "Our civic duty" on the need to form "a public organization for communicating with Kirghiz abroad." He proposes that similar organizations in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan be used as examples. He also suggests that better communications with Kirghiz in other parts of the Soviet Union be established. He points out that the Kirghiz in the Pamirs (Tajikistan) have "difficulties" in obtaining Kirghiz books; Kirghiz in Syr Darya Oblast (UzSSR) find it difficult to receive Kirghiz language broadcasts from Frunze due to weak signal strength. In addition, he suggests that Kirghiz books and records be supplied to Kirghiz officers serving in the Soviet Army and Military Fleet. Finally, he recommends that all kinds of contacts with Kirghiz in China and Afghanistan be increased.

#### **Drugs, Smoking, Alcoholism Among School-Age, General Population Noted**

18300245 Alma-Ata PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN  
KAZAKHSTANA in Russian No 10, Oct 88 pp 76-80

[Article by V. Yefimov, chief of the Kazakh CP Central Committee Department of Administrative Agencies, candidate of juridical sciences: "Not by Prohibitions Alone..."]

[Text] More than 3 years have passed since the day the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Measures for Overcoming Drunkenness and Alcoholism" was issued. In this time, interesting organizational, administrative and legal, and upbringing work has been done to assert a sober way of life and create a state of universal intolerance toward drunkenness. Therefore, today we can already speak of results, the main one of which an improvement in the moral atmosphere in labor collectives and in society on the whole and the strengthening of order and discipline in production and in everyday life. The figures confirm this particularly eloquently: according to sociological research data, the number of drinking

bouts at work has been reduced by a factor of 2, as well as the number of people absent for reason of drunkenness. The number of accidents caused for this reason was reduced by 26 percent. Violations of the law while in a state of alcoholic intoxication decreased. Table traditions that had inevitably accompanied official meetings and farewells have successfully been virtually entirely eliminated. All of this cannot help but affect people's consciousness and mentality—the customary halo of necessity no longer surrounds drunkenness.

Thus, we have made truly great steps in the struggle against chronic social vices. However, this does not at all mean that the goal has been achieved. Today, already possessing solid experience, it is important to critically study that which has been achieved, to seek out reasons for failure, and to determine new, less callous approaches to solving the problem. After all, to conceal nothing, we have also collected no few errors, which need rapid correction.

Everyone knows what the successful reduction in the number of wine and vodka stores and the increase in retail prices for alcoholic beverages has led to. At first, we rejoiced at reduced number of drinkers, but this process soon came to a halt and the measure that had been taken ceased working. Then, along with the growth in lines at shops selling vodka and wine, irritation and dissatisfaction began to increase, and not among drinkers alone. Breakdowns in the supply to the population of sugar, perfume, culinary items and medicines with an alcohol base, naturally, had an effect on those who did not use alcohol at all. Speculators, thieves of raw materials and moonshine makers are doing well. They have developed energetic activity, and it is already necessary to break heads over the imagined and actual use of alcohol. It seems, the reduction in the sale of alcohol per capita by a factor of more than 2 in 1987, as compared to 1984, should attest to well-being, but the situation is in fact different. In 3 years, the sale of sugar increased by 30,000 tons. It is possible to manufacture 30-35 million liters of moonshine, i.e., 2 liters for each resident of the republic, from this quantity of sugar. We should also not exclude other forms of raw materials suitable for making moonshine.

It should be said that some leaders are themselves contributing to the spread of illegal trade. In some farms in Alma-Ata, Taldy-Kurgan and Dzhambul oblasts, raw sugar is given out as payment in kind. The fact that the number of moonshine-makers held accountable has doubled in precisely these oblasts, although the sale of alcoholic beverages per capita is significantly lower here than the average republic indicator, can be related to this "initiative" alone.

Moonshine's "popularity" largely contributes to the lack of attention to peoples' social, everyday needs. In rural areas, because of the poor operation of municipal services, people have to pay for almost all services with home-made alcoholic beverages. The repair of houses



and domestic appliances, delivery of fuel and fodder, plowing of kitchen-gardens, and so forth—this all has its own "alcohol price." This kind of exchange must be decisively eliminated, not by prohibitions, but by expanding services for the rural population, encouraging individual labor activity and holding moonshine-makers more strictly accountable.

Today, however, the vile potion is not made only in the countryside. Moonshine-making has appeared in the city. Here, not only ancient old women, but also relatively young people with diplomas and even with party cards make it. An end must be decisively put to compromising moods among moonshine-makers, to convince society that those who unite people for the sake of profit are the true enemies of renovation.

Another negative result of errors in the struggle with drunkenness and alcoholism is the growth in addiction to drugs and toxic substances, primarily among young people. These are most dangerous hobbies. The degradation of the personality from the use of narcotic and toxic substances occurs several-fold more rapidly, than with alcoholism. Moreover, people thus afflicted are capable of any crime when in a state of withdrawal.

After these questions had been examined twice by the Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro and the "Comprehensive Program for the Struggle with Drug Addiction Until 1990" was developed, measures against addiction to drugs and toxic substances began to be implemented in the republic. Unfortunately, they are insufficiently effective. This is why: the law enforcement agencies are still doing a poor job in exposing the collectors and sellers of narcotic substances; not all channels for the leakage of narcotics-containing and toxic substances from chemical and pharmaceutical enterprises have been closed, work to map hemp-growing places (out of 3 million hectares of obstructed areas in the republic's southern rayons, only half have been mapped) has been dragged out, and the search for ways to eliminate this plant is being done slowly.

We turned out to be poorly prepared for the struggle against addiction to toxic substances, although this misfortune has already succeeded in declaring itself tragically loudly. In 1987 alone, 200 people died and just as many became invalids as a result of poisoning with alcohol surrogates, poisonous liquids and fumes. Medicine has not developed methods for treating these illnesses and has no diagnostic methods for toxic intoxication and no specialized departments in hospitals for the treatment both of poisonings, as well as of toxic addiction itself.

The spread of this kind of self-stupefaction among children and teen-agers is particularly disturbing. At the School imeni S. Seyfullin in the city of Chu, a group of students in grades 6-8 had been using toxic substances for a long time. As a result, seven children suffered persistent changes in their mental states and at the

present time have been registered and are undergoing a course of treatment. However, this outcome could have been avoided, if the school collective, for instance, having known of the fatal hobby, had sounded the alarm in time. This did not happen. In the republic's schools and PTUs, the narcotics posts are inactive and the committees on questions of preventing toxic addiction among the under-aged are not working. The time has come to bring order into the registration of patients, to strengthen work with individuals and to prevent diseases, and to bolster all of this with sociocultural, law enforcement and educational measures.

It is also about time to speak of one thing in particular—of the need to wage a decisive struggle against the smoking of tobacco, which is also a narcotic, although less effective. Unfortunately, we are forced to verify that the consumption of tobacco items has increased by 20 percent in the last 10 years. According to data from studies done in Alma-Ata by the Institute of Cardiology, 70 percent of our adult population smokes, as well as 10 percent of schoolchildren in grades 4-8, one-third of the senior school children, and one-half of the PTU pupils and students.

Incidentally, tobacco not only destroys the cardiovascular system and causes various cancerous diseases, but in the overwhelming majority of cases it also leads to alcohol abuse. It has been noted that not every drinker smokes, but every smoker drinks. Therefore, it would be expedient precisely for the Societies for Struggle for Sobriety to engage in anti-nicotine propaganda as well. They could involve broad strata of working people—parents, school teachers, VUZ and tekhnikum teachers, doctors, employees of law enforcement agencies, athletes, "Znaniye" society lecturers, and the mass information and propaganda media, in the prevention of smoking. In the struggle against smoking, it seems, material and moral incentives might be effective, if used intelligently. One of the conditions for joining the Kustanay "Granit" Cooperative is the rejection of alcohol and tobacco. In the "Rassvet" Kolkhoz, Moscow Oblast, people who have given up smoking and non-smokers are paid 100 rubles annually out of the kolkhoz fund (KOM-SOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA recently printed this). A system for moral influence would also have been appropriate. For example, it would be possible to not accept teen-agers who smoke in interesting clubs and sports teams, not to mention acceptance into the Komsomol, and to criticize young smokers in the wall-newspaper, in propaganda areas, and so on.

Utilizing this opportunity, I would also like to address the readers of this journal who smoke, to party, soviet, and Komsomol workers with an appeal to reject this harmful habit and to always remember that people are watching you.

So, returning to our subject, it must be stated that work to assert a sober, healthy way of life has still not achieved even a tenth of that which was planned. However, this

does not mean that we should lose heart and leave the problem to chance. We must persistently seek out new ways and approaches, and we must use tested means to the end.

Firstly, it is necessary, of course, to bring order into the production and sale of alcohol beverages, to increase the share of dry wines and beer in the overall volume of production, to eliminate the problem with lines, and to expand the network of wine trade centers within reasonable limits and to put the prices for alcohol in order. Other approaches are also possible here.

Ideological work, in which party, soviet, and trade union agencies, war and labor veterans' committees, women's councils and other social formations should be actively included, requires radical restructuring. A large-scale struggle against harmful habits, a struggle, structured not on bans, but on the people's interest in improving their own health and developing spiritual and creative possibilities, is possible only with their participation. Public opinion, such that drunkenness, addiction to drugs and toxic substances, and smoking evokes people's condemnation, must be created.

We ought to think about how to bring anti-alcohol propaganda into the realm of human emotions, how to relate a person's high reputation to his refusal to use alcohol. We would have achieved a great deal, if young people followed not only fashion in clothing, but also, if it can be put this way, in a healthy and sober way of life.

A great deal depends on the mass information and propaganda media in this regard. It is important to find effective arguments and ways to present material on this subject. The specialization of newspaper, radio and television editorial board associates on the problems of drunkenness, alcoholism, and addiction to drugs and toxic substances, and their support of permanent relations with law enforcement agencies, might have contributed to this.

One must also keep in mind that the most important area of prevention of drunkenness and drug addiction is the creation of conditions which provide for the sensible use of free time and develop people's activeness in the non-production sphere. We have all of the possibilities for doing this.

Let us consider the allegedly broad distribution in the republic of mass voluntary collective labor in time free from one's basic work or studies: people participate in improving housing units, help retired people with their daily lives, and restore architectural and historic monuments. Thus, thousands of young men and women in Alma-Ata went to improve the Sayran resort area on 2 May. Students at the theatrical and artistic institute organized the collection of funds for saving the Aral Sea. Money is being received from works of art sold at auctions and from concerts held in the city streets. While the funds which have been collected are not enough to

entirely solve all the problems, this is not the most important point—the initiative of youth has been directed along a new course, toward the common good.

Forms of labor activity in free time, such as amateur horticulture and gardening, the independent repair of apartments, and the manufacture of furniture and other household items are becoming increasingly more popular. On the one hand, this was stipulated by economic necessity, on the other, by a desire to use leisure time fruitfully.

In addition to encouraging similar independent creativity, one must not forget the activeness of work by the largest cultural institutions—clubs and sports facilities, which because of the underestimation of the sociocultural sphere have been developed intolerably slowly in recent years. As a result, in a number of rayons in Aktyubinsk, Alma-Ata, Ural, and Chimkent oblasts, a serious shortage of sports institutions is being felt. In Ural Oblast, 15 percent of clubs are located on dangerous premises. Moreover, there are no clubs at all in 26 settlements of eight rural rayons with a population of over 350-500 people.

In solving the problem of free time, a significantly large contribution could be made by the Komsomol and DOSAAF committees by way of developing technical, applied military, and equestrian types of sports, and the orientation of youth initiative toward interesting and useful activity, rich in content.

An importance place in fulfilling the party and state resolutions belongs to the committees for the struggle against drunkenness. However, recently a reduction in their activity has been observed. Work in Chimkent, North Kazakhstan, Pavlodar, and Karaganda Oblasts was set up poorly. The Kazakh CP Central Committee recommendations on sending people fined for drunkenness to work in order to compensate for damage caused to families is not being implemented, and the execution of the decisions to levy fines is not being controlled. Therefore, about 1 million rubles were not exacted from violators of anti-alcohol legislation in 1987 alone.

The committees for the struggle against drunkenness could have taken it upon themselves to coordinate all work to eliminate addiction to drugs and toxic substances, since there is no such coordinating agency in local areas.

New content should be added to the work of the Society for the Struggle for Sobriety. Recently, the opinion, with which it is impossible to agree, that this organization is unnecessary has become widespread. However, at the same time it is entirely obvious that its activity is not free of shortcomings. There are many passive members, as a result of the pursuit of figures in a number of societies. An orientation toward quantitative growth profanes the very idea, the goals and purpose of this public organization.

Today, serious claims can be made against the work of treatment and labor dispensaries. Treatment in them is only 8 percent effective. Many patients, enjoying the lack of control, become drunk and commit escapes and crimes.

There are also shortcomings in the work of the people's courts. Crimes in a state of alcoholic intoxication are not always considered an aggravating circumstance. For example, the people's court of Sverdlovskiy Rayon, Dzhambul Oblast, out of 28 criminal cases tried in which the guilty parties committed crimes in a state of alcohol or narcotic intoxication, did not consider this an aggravating circumstance in a single case. Some courts ignore the requirement of the law regarding the confiscation of property and institution of criminal proceedings against moonshine-makers.

The republic's militia agencies and courts are not taking steps toward the timely execution of the decisions made regarding the levy of fines against violators of anti-alcohol legislation. Workers in the oblast UVD, prosecutor's and justice systems, visiting rayons to make spot checks, often only ascertain the facts instead of offering practical assistance, without organizing specific work to exact debts.

The agencies of the prosecutor's office are not sufficiently fulfilling their duties in supervising the execution of anti-alcohol legislation. Few proposals are being made to restrict the activity of people who abuse alcohol. Suits are extremely rarely brought against drinkers who systematically violate the rules of communal living, to evict them from apartments.

The use of scientific achievements and technical and other means may be of great assistance in solving this topical problem. There are developments in the republic's scientific institutions that deserve attention. V.M. Inyushin, doctor of biological sciences at the Kazakh State University, is studying a method for treating alcoholics by way of renewing the person's aqueous environment. The biolocation method for detecting alcohol-containing liquids and narcotics in hiding places, which candidate of sciences I.A. Nepomnyashchikh is working on, may be of interest to practical workers. A creative group at the Kazakh Institute for Physical Culture, headed by candidate of sciences Ye.G. Petrenko, is working to create a device capable of rapidly detecting the presence of alcohol in human blood. However, these projects are being conducted unsystematically and lack the necessary contact between scientists and practical workers. In this regard, it is important that the MVD, Minzdrav and the Academy of Sciences of the republic finally begin joint activity to accelerate scientific development work in this problematical area and apply its results in practice.

The results of work to overcome drunkenness and addiction to drugs and toxic substances is difficult to define with a precise coefficient of useful effect.

The main thing in the work of party agencies is not to stand idle, not to wait for ready-made prescriptions, not to continuously glance about: no instructions will come from above, and we must tirelessly seek out new approaches to solving a difficult problem.

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#### Statistics on Urban, Rural Families

18300249 Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V SSSR: SERIYA 3 in Russian No 5, 1988 pp 137-142

[Review by K. I. Vlasenko of book "Gorodskaya i Selskaya Semya" [Urban and Rural Family] by D. I. Valenty (chairman) et al., editorial board, and V. M. Medkov, leader of the group of authors, Mysl, Moscow, 1987, 284 pages]

[Text] The collection contains an introduction and 12 articles. The family in socialist society, as the most important social nucleus and its product, changes and develops together with the social system. Certain contradictions due to social and economic causes, that is, the change in the status of women in society and the family, their different role in the social structure, processes of industrialization and urbanization, and rise in the population's cultural level, have been manifested in the development of the Soviet family recently. The rise in the divorce rate and in the divorce level is caused by a change in the economic foundations for marriage and the very nature of personal, spiritual, and intimate relations in the family. The drop in the birthrate and the transition from large to small families—an objective, economically and socially determined process—have produced a sharp decline in new births in a number of regions. In the book research on problems concerning the family, birthrate, and reproductive behavior of the urban and rural population is carried out on the basis of a sociological and demographic approach, which gives information corresponding to the tasks of social birth control. The collection reflects the results of a comprehensive and all-around illumination of the need of the urban and rural family for children and the possibilities for realizing it and singles out its quantitative (reproductive orientations and guidelines) and qualitative (reproductive motivation) aspects, the system of value orientations of the family and its members, and the existence of various factors exerting a decisive effect on the number of children in the family.

V. Arkhangelskiy analyzes the reproductive behavior and value orientations of the urban population. Within the framework of the sociological and demographic survey "Children in the Urban Family" conducted in 1983-1984 he studied the reproductive behavior of 246 families in Oktyabrskiy Rayon in the city of Moscow.

He notes that a transition from an average number of children in the parents' family to a small number of children in the surveyed family is now observed (on the average, the number of children in the parents' family



was 2.6 among women and 2.34 among men: in the surveyed families—1.35) (p 23). The expected number of children among men and women is smaller than the number of children in the parents' families and the desired number of children is higher than what respondents would like to have if they had the necessary conditions. Family and nonfamily value orientations are represented by five types. Two dominate among nonfamily values: To have higher education and to see friends often. One-fourth of the questioned women and one-third of the questioned men give them preference. The following are mentioned among family values in men: to be married, material well-being, to have a country home, to spend more time with children, to have several children, to see relatives often, to spend free time with the family, and to be the master at home. In women: To spend more time with children, to have several children, to see relatives often, to spend free time with the family, and to be a good housewife. The level of education has a direct effect on an increase in the role of orientation toward nonfamily values: The higher it is, the bigger the tendency to be oriented toward them (women with high education, 69.2 percent and with secondary education, 11.5 percent; in men 63.8 and 13 percent respectively). The orientation toward family values comprised 8.5 percent in women with higher education and 46.8 percent, with general secondary education (in men the situation is as follows: 13.8 and 41.4 percent) (p. 43).

V. Zotin and A. Mytil examine newlyweds' views of the number of children in the family. The desired number of children greatly exceeds the expected one. "A small family should be attributed primarily to the weakening of the need for children, not to obstacles to the realization of its high level" (pp 49-50). On the average, bridegrooms have a greater need to have children than their brides. The bulk of the questioned young people getting married are oriented toward the creation of a family with two children. Respondents—young people—closely connect such concepts as "family and children." A total of 87.3 percent of the brides and 83.5 percent of the bridegrooms confirmed the significance of this static connection and its insignificance was evaluated by 3.9 percent of the brides and 5.3 percent of the bridegrooms. The nature of the dynamic relation, that is, "the effect of the desire to have children on the process of making a decision about getting married" (p 60), was manifested in the fact that 51.4 percent of the brides and 58.2 percent of the bridegrooms decided to get married in connection with the desire to have children (p 61).

The regional characteristics of the number of children in the working family in the Urals were studied by A. Kuzmin. The birth level in working families in the Urals at the end of the 19th century was approximately equal to the birthrate in peasant families. The special structure of family relations, which have long traditions, is the basic reason for working families with many children in the Urals. The general decline in the birthrate is also confirmed by social differentiation: In 1967 the birth coefficient in kolkhoz members was 3.89, in workers,

2.65, and in employees, 1.93; in 1977 it was 2.92, 1.98, and 1.76 respectively (p 89).

Some aspects of reproductive behavior of the rural family in Georgia were illuminated in the article by T. Nizharadze. Reproductive behavior is the "activity of the individual aimed at satisfying the need for children as a definite system of actions and relations mediating the birth of a certain number of children in the family (p 104). It includes a quantitative and qualitative definition. The loss of the priority of the large family in the system of social values is the main reason for the decrease in the need for children.

A single theoretical historical-sociological concept disclosing different birth levels is proposed by N. Zvereva. An interpretation of a high birth level through social and economic relations is its most important component. The problem of the large family is substantiated rationally. "In our opinion, an analysis of the family method of reproduction of the expanded rural family is the fundamental principle of studying the large family" (p 127). The fact that a limitation of the birthrate diminishes the economic opportunities of the expanded family is important from the methodological aspect.

Research on the fertility of women in Uzbek families was conducted by M. Buriyeva. Fertility is defined as the "biological potential for birth and the ability to bear children" (p 142). It is established that the level of fertility in Uzbek women dropped significantly as compared with past generations. A similar situation is emerging in rural areas, especially in women with a high level of education, who are engaged in social labor. The bulk of women working on kolkhozes and sovkhoses and housewives are not characterized by a marked decline in the birth level.

The development of types of families and the birthrate among Tajikistan's rural population are described by S. Islamov. The levels of economic and social development in the republic's individual regions are the reason for the existence of different types of families.

A microsimulating model of the birthrate in generations is proposed by M. Barkalov. The "method of microsimulation (or the method of statistical tests, the Monte-Carlo method) lies in breaking down the modeled macroprocess into a large number of elementary microprocesses forming it and in modeling each of them separately with due regard for the effect of factors common for the population and factors connected with the individual's specific nature" (pp 170-171). This model makes it possible to form a calendar of births and the change in the initially planned number of children in the family during three periods: 1) the period of parental support; 2) the unstable period; 3) the period of a stable marriage.

A. Kvasha examines the demographic policy and family expenses on children. Monthly allowances (payments)

aim at stimulating the birth of children and do not depend on the income received by the family. It is noted that "the interest in a family with two or three children is now greater at the macrolevel—the state—than at the microlevel—the family proper, that is, the basic reproductive nucleus" (p 203). Components of family expenses on child support are presented.

V. Mukomel investigates migration and family problems in connection with stages in the life cycle. The results of the survey conducted in the Sayansk Territorial Production Complex in 1982 are generalized. A thesis on creating favorable, as far as possible, equal living conditions for all categories of migrants (of a different age, family status, and educational and skill level) is advanced. Migration, which permeates the development of individual stages in the family's vital activity, "can be both a blessing and a curse for the family" (p 240).

The article by I. Katkova and I. Shurandina is devoted to an analysis of infantile mortality and family formation. The high infantile mortality in tsarist Russia was due to the difficult economic situation of the country's population, the exhausting labor of workers and peasants, illiteracy, occupational diseases at work, difficult housing conditions in urban and rural areas, and preservation of health-damaging national rites, customs, and traditions. During the years of Soviet rule the decline in infantile mortality began to lag behind the birth level. The data of the survey of 350 Moscow families conducted in 1980-1982 indicate that "such social and hygienic factors as the nature of material and housing

provision for surveyed families and the spouses' educational level and even their age have a less pronounced effect on the decision on the birth of the next child as compared with the serial number of births of the dead child" (p 260).

The new tendencies in family development in the Chinese People's Republic are examined by Ye. Bazhenova. The new marriage law was adopted after the formation of the Chinese People's Republic in 1950. It contributed to the formation of millions of families freed from feudal relations in society. The "young generation, which grew up in new China, has more modern views of marriage and family problems in contrast to the older generation, which is under the influence of old traditions in the field of family relations" (p 269). Article 49 of the Constitution of the Chinese People's Republic notes that "marriage, family, motherhood, and infancy are under state protection." The practice of conciliation of the parties concerned for the purpose of strengthening family stability and children's education is widespread. In 1982 a total of 370,000 couples initiated a divorce, "but, owing to the conciliation of the parties concerned with the help of the court, 210,900 divorce cases were registered" (pp 271-272). The percent of divorce for this year is 2.5 million per 8 million of concluded marriages. Such types of families as expanded (joint residence of parents with married children), trunk (residence of parents with a son's or a daughter's family), and nuclear (parents and their unmarried children) are most widespread in China. The percent of the latter is rising steadily (69.5 percent in 1982) (p 276). A general tendency toward a reduction in the average family size is observed (5.35 in 1947; 4.76 in 1972; 4.39 in 1984) (p 278).

**Journalist, Academician Investigate 30 Oct Minsk Demonstration**

18000481 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA  
in Russian 28 Dec 88 p 10

[Discussion by Aleksandr Borin and others: "Minsk, 30 October: Before and After the Event"]

[Text] Dear editors!

*The republic and all-union press have written about the events which occurred in Minsk on 30 October. But it is very difficult to understand anything. It is sheer discord! Some writers have sounded the alarm, while others, assure us that everything is calm and that it is simply a matter of malicious persons making a mountain out of a mole-hill. But wherein lies the truth? I would like to obtain a clear picture at last. And not from any subjectively biased position, but rather from the viewpoint of the law.*

[Signed] L. Semyonov, Minsk

The press has already written about what occurred in Minsk on 30 October near the Moscow Cemetery. People had intended to hold a requiem-meeting dedicated to commemorating Forefathers' Eve ("Dzyady"). The municipal authorities forbade it, and the people who had assembled despite the ban were dispersed by the police. The event had loud repercussions. And not merely in Belorussia, but also far beyond its borders. People are talking about it and discussing it. However, the public wants to know more, to know everything that happened. Without whipping any dead horses but also without any cover-ups. They also want to know why it happened. What were the roots and causes, along with the overt and covert motives for what happened.

In order to explain, establish, and understand how everything which occurred should be evaluated from the viewpoint of the law, A.M. Larin, a leading staff member of the State and Law Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and a doctor of juridical sciences, along with myself, a LITERATURNAYA GAZETA commentator, have driven to Minsk on assignment from the editors.

**Adopted Unanimously**

The idea of marking Forefathers' Eve was the brainchild of Tuteyshyya [Young Literary Persons' Society], which comes under the jurisdiction of the Belorussian Writers' Union. They appealed to the republic-level cultural fund for cooperation and assistance. The initiative of these young persons was approved. On 12 October the Minsk Cultural Fund Board Presidium decreed the following: "To support the proposal of the public and take part in the requiem-meeting dedicated to the national Forefathers' Eve. The date shall be 30 October."

Before the established deadline, within 10 days prior to the meeting, A. Belyatskiy, president of the Tuteyshyya Society, and Professor V. Sharangovich, chairman of the

municipal branch of the Cultural Fund, submitted an announcement concerning the meeting to the Minsk Gorispolkom. It was considered on 24 October, and the following decision was taken: "In connection with the lack in this city of any tradition of celebrating Forefathers' Eve on an annual basis...and also in connection with the holding of ceremonies on 29-30 October marking the 70th anniversary of the Komsomol's formation, permission to hold a requiem-meeting on 30 October 1988...is hereby denied."

L.N. VOLODKINA, gorispolkom secretary, stated the following:

"On 24 October I returned from a leave. The ispolkom chairman handed me the announcement and said: 'We must convene the ispolkom today.' Everything was done hurriedly, with a sense of urgency. Of 18 ispolkom members, 12 assembled, those who were at hand: the chairman, 7 of his deputies, 2 administrators—of the organizational and financial divisions, and myself.... The meeting was also attended by the secretary of the Komsomol Gorkom; he was close by—just across the street.... The decision was adopted unanimously."

**Commentary by A.M. LARIN, doctor of juridical sciences**

The gorispolkom's decision was essentially illegal. According to the law, banning a meeting is possible only in cases where the meeting's purpose contradicts the Constitution of the USSR, that of a union republic, or threatens public order. Judging by the text of this decision, however, the city soviet's ispolkom had no information about such circumstances. The motives cited in the decision were obviously trumped up. The 70th anniversary of the Komsomol was celebrated on Saturday, 29 October rather than on Sunday, 30 October. Moreover, the area in front of the cemetery gate where the requiem-meeting was to be held is utterly unsuitable for the measures connected with the Komsomol anniversary. And setting the date for celebrating Forefathers' Eve does not require any command-type, administrative decision whatsoever; it could have been completely left up to the discretion of the meeting's initiators."

And so how is such a decision to be explained? It is quite difficult to believe that 12 serious persons would be so afraid that the Komsomol members would want to celebrate their anniversary near the cemetery graves.

Could it be that the ispolkom's decision was a response to some important public events?

**"The Self-Appointed Persons"**

Five days before the ispolkom's session, on Wednesday, 19 October, representatives of the creative and scientific intelligentsia, students, and working youths assembled at Cinema House. A total of more than 300 persons were in attendance. They had assembled in order to constitute the "Martyrology" Belorussian Historical-Education



Society to Commemorate the Victims of Stalinism, as well as to elect a working committee for the purpose of organizing a Popular Front in Support of Perestroika.

The very idea of creating such a front in the republic encountered a far-from-unified reception. This may be judged by the items which appeared in the press. (Vasil Bykov: "I do not know what our Popular Front will be like, or what it will be in general." Nil Gilevich, first secretary of the Belorussian SSR Writers' Union Board: "...In my opinion, the idea of developing an all-national movement in support of perestroika deserves our support. Why don't I say 'Popular Front'? In many persons' minds, this combination of words evokes an association with confrontation, with a combination of forces against something or someone. A popular movement should be 'for' everything that was proclaimed at the 27th Party Congress and the 19th Party Conference, and everything that we must implement." G.S. Tarazevich, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: "Now you said 'Popular Front.' But, really now, don't we already have enough popular [people's] authorities? After all, we can solve our problems, and quite successfully, within the framework of the existing structures. We should not be thinking of opposing the popular authorities, but rather of helping them to regulate the life of society better, of becoming truly POPULAR.")

Justly stated, one must think. We should dispute, discuss, exchange ideas, cite arguments, convince, and re-convince. There are, of course, various types of people in the public movements which are now emerging. There are inveterate orators, maximalists, advocates of extremist views.... But there are also—and this comprises the primary strength of the emerging public movements—people who are searching, honorable, passionately committed people, not committed merely to phrases but to deeds, people who understand full well that the old methods and outmoded devices are no longer capable of solving the new problems which the times have set forth. And our task is not to intimidate or threaten, but to carry on political work: to refute the demagogues, and to support the healthy forces of common sense by all measures. (V. Manayev, a member of the Belorussian Komsomol's Central Committee and a winner of the USSR State Prize, asserted the following: "...Nowadays the method of pounding on the table does not persuade those who disagree. We need discussions and arguments that carry weight.")

However, the proposals which were set forth on 19 October at Cinema House evoked not a discussion, not a dispute, not a clash of arguments, but rather a most genuine "pounding on the table."

Within two days after the meeting at Cinema House and one day prior to the ispolkom's session, a public meeting was held at the Minsk House of Political Education. Some 1500 persons were in attendance. The newspaper VECHERNYY MINSK published the following

announcement: "Representatives of this city's public...adopted a Resolution with the following contents: a group of self-appointed persons, who arrogated to themselves the right to represent the entire population of this republic, have proclaimed themselves to be the initiating group for creating the Popular Front of Belorussia...."

These "self-appointed persons" include Vasil Bykov, a winner of the Lenin Prize, Nil Gilevich, a deputy to this republic's Supreme Soviet, Vasilii Yakovenko, a member of the Belorussian Writers' Union Party Bureau, along with young workers, artists, cinematographers....

"We demand that the leadership of the republic and the local organs of the Soviet regime," the Resolution goes on to say, "bring to order these self-appointed persons who have gone too far. We have had enough of irresponsible slogans! Enough of empty blabbing and shout-filled meetings!"

So now it is understandable. The 70th anniversary and the survey of public opinion about the Forefathers' Eve ("Dzyady") was all a matter of decoy. The "shout-filled meeting" was banned upon the insistence of the "representatives of the public." But could it be that someone issued a direct command? The decision taken by the gorispolkom, which was unleashed following a furious campaign in the local press against the Forefathers' Eve ("Dzyady")—all this is very reminiscent of someone's order from on high. However, Doctor of Juridical Sciences A.M. Larin and I understood that we could scarcely succeed in obtaining an answer to this question. Until this country puts into operation a new political system under which decisions not constituting a state secret would have to be taken openly, publicly, rather than in offices behind double doors according to the principle that "there is such an opinion," a great deal will still be done covertly and in camera. Documents are not usually drawn up on such decisions, and newspapers do not write about them. You can guess, but you will not be allowed to know for sure.

**V.A. PISKAREV, Belorussian SSR Minister of Internal Affairs, made the following statement:**

"Perestroika does not need meetings, but rather good, hard work. Meetings give us neither bread nor lard. And any meeting can spill over into open Anti-Sovietism. Furthermore, we had information to the effect that provocateurs were preparing leaflets mentioning the Popular Front for the meeting to be held on 30 October...."

Of course, the police detachments are far more reliable than any open discussions.

On Wednesday, 26 October, A. Belyatskiy, the chairman of the Young Literary Persons' Society, in accordance with the law, submitted a complaint to the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers. He wrote the following therein: "...The ispolkom's decision is not based on an

Ukase.... People are not forbidden to come to the Forefathers' Eve celebration.... We ask that the matter be considered at your earliest convenience, and that an equitable decision be taken...." However, on the next day, 27 October, A.A. Sokolovskiy, the deputy administrator of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, in violation of all regulations, sent this complaint...back to the gorispolkom. To be considered by the very same people against whom A. Belyatskiy was complaining.

Thus, the following paradoxical situation was created: the initiators of the meeting were denied permission to conduct it for reasons not based on the law. But neither did their attempt to complain about this decision within the procedure established by law lead to anything. It could be said that a potentially explosive situation had been created.

#### "Freedom for Aleksandr Pushkin!"

On 25 October VECHERNYY MINSK under the "In the Minsk Gorispolkom" rubric published an announcement about the banning of the requiem-meeting. On 28 October this newspaper published the following information of the Minsk Gorispolkom's UVD [Internal Affairs Administration]: "...During the last few days rumors have been disseminated through the city, and posters have been put up inviting people to attend...a meeting. In connection with this, the Minsk Gorispolkom's UVD explains that such actions on the part of irresponsible persons must be evaluated as a gross violation...."

However, these warnings could no longer stop anyone. People were incapable of comprehending, interpreting why they were being forbidden to assemble near a cemetery gate on 30 October. The officially proclaimed reasons were not convincing. Banning the requiem-meeting evoked dissatisfaction and jibes. The city began to seethe. Even those persons who had not planned on going to the meeting now were preparing to visit the Moscow Cemetery. Something was going to happen!

On Friday, 28 October at 1 p.m. Aleksandr Pushkin, a student at the Belorussian Theatrical Arts Institute, put up a poster at the entrance to the institute. It read as follows: "Attention! Attention! Attention! The 'Tuteyshyya' Association of Young Literary Persons under the jurisdiction of the Belorussian SSR Writers' Union...invites everyone who has not forgotten where he was born to pay a tribute of respect to our forefathers, to our glorious and tragic past...." The student A. Pushkin was immediately taken to the police station. Within a few hours V.M. Stepurko, the president of the Pervomayskiy Rayon People's Court, sentenced him to five days of administrative arrest.

No matter what attitude one might have toward this student's action, whether or not one might censure him

for silliness or hot-headedness, was there really anything in his actions amounting to an administrative violation of the law?

#### A.M. LARIN's COMMENTARY

A. Pushkin was punished in accordance with Part 1, Article 167 of the Belorussian SSR Code on Administrative Violations of the Law, which stipulates "violation of the established order of an organization or conduct of assemblies, meetings, street processions, or demonstrations." The language of the law is not the ordinary, everyday use of words. Commentators on the law explain that within the complex of illegal actions distinctions must be made among organizational actions; and not just any ancillary measures are emphasized but only those directed at creating an illegal organization, as expressed in recruiting people, assigning roles to participants, instructing them, and the like. As may be seen, this was not at all what A. Pushkin was charged with. Lack of desire to be in line with the law was also manifested in the choice of a penalty measure. Article 167 of the Code stipulates a warning to, or a fine imposed on the violator, and only in exceptional cases, taking into account the circumstances and the personality of the violator, is administrative arrest indicated. A. Pushkin is an outstanding student and was awarded an honorary scholarship in the name of F. Skorina, an international soldier who fought in Afghanistan for two years. Nevertheless, Pushkin was placed under administrative arrest. It must be thought that the president of the Pervomayskiy Rayon People's Court in Minsk knows the law. In the case at hand, however, emotions gained the upper hand, emotions alien to the law.

The arrest of this student aroused the entire institute. They say that transparent posters bearing the words "Freedom for Aleksandr Pushkin" had already been prepared for carrying out onto the street. Representatives of the institute rushed to the procurator's office. On the morning of 30 October P.N. Stepanchuk, the city's acting procurator, signed a protest stating as follows: "I request that the measure of punishment for A. Pushkin be reduced." This protest was handwritten; the typist had the day off. Within a few hours Judge V.M. Stepurko issued a new decree: not five but only two days. A. Pushkin had already served this period and now could be set free. The chief of the ROVD [rayon internal-affairs division] provided a motor vehicle; it was used to bring A. Pushkin to be shown to the students, as if to say: Calm down now, everything is O.K.

That is the kind of devil's sabbath that occurred in the city.

#### A Red-and-White Jacket

A certain movie-cameraman succeeded in shooting the events of 30 October. Some of the frames of his film are, frankly speaking, impressive. The street flooded with police. Buses with policemen wearing helmets. Motor

vehicles equipped with water cannons. Policemen dragging along a resisting man. Shouts of "Shame! Stalinists!"

Nowadays it is said that over-exposure and exaggerations were allowed in the items published about the dispersal of the demonstrators, and that there were untruths in these items. It is also said that if someone undertakes to write for a newspaper, he should be honest and exact. Such a requirement is entirely justified. However, honesty and exactness are necessary, it must be thought, not only for journalists but also for officials. To an equal degree.

On Sunday, 30 October, the Vostok Metro Station, which is the closest one to the Moscow Cemetery, was closed. Signs were hung there stating: "Closed for Technical Reasons." This was not true. As it came to light subsequently, there were no "technical reasons" whatsoever; it was just a hastily thought-up excuse.

The leading officials of Belorussia's MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] have declared on more than one occasion orally and in print that tear gas was not used in dispersing the demonstration. But what really happened? Here is an excerpt from the "official report" to the editors by A. Kozlovich, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's own correspondent: "I saw a police captain take an aerosol can from his overcoat pocket and spray people's faces with it. The aerosol caused tears and coughing. People ran away in all directions. I also received my own portion of gas...." On 10 November a meeting attended by many persons was held at the Palace of Arts. It was also filmed by a movie-cameraman. There on the screen N.S. Ivanova, chief of the party gorkom's propaganda and agitation department, says the following: "Yes, tear gas was used on those persons who attempted to provoke the police." She is asked: "Is that your personal opinion, or is that the official point of view now?" N.S. Ivanova replied: "That is my opinion as a witness and as a participant in these events."

Does that mean that gas was used after all? Who then is correct?

V.K. Kondratyev, the republic's acting procurator, sent a letter to the commission which was set up by the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for the purpose of investigating what had happened. The following was stated in this letter: "The republic-level procurator's office has found nothing which contradicts the law in the actions undertaken by the internal-affairs organs. No complaints about the actions by policemen have been received from participants at the meeting by the procuratorial organs in the city of Minsk or those of the Belorussian SSR." The procurator's letter was signed on 10 November. Nevertheless, by this time complaints had already begun to be received by the procuratorial organs. Here is one of them: "5 November 1988. To the Procurator's Office of Minsk's Pervomayskiy Rayon. From L.M. Verzhbitskaya. At 4:30 p.m. on 30 October I was

illegally taken by a group of policemen, who, without either introducing themselves or explaining the reason for this seizure, dragged me into a motor vehicle, breaking my arms in the process. This occurred near the salon of the store named "Shchastye".... I...was charged because the color of my jacket—red and white—was deemed to be a 'particularly nationalistic color.'" I am not going into the matter of decoding this complex symbolism. It is clear, however, that the procurator's assertion that everything had been done legally, and that there had been no complaints against the police, were also, to put it mildly, not in accordance with the actual facts of the matter.

#### A.M. LARIN's COMMENTARY

On 30 October in Minsk measures not indicated specifically in the law were undertaken for the purpose of not allowing the meeting to be held. In particular: metro-train traffic to the Vostok Station was halted, surface-transport traffic in this direction was also shut down, policemen did not allow pedestrians to pass through, they took away still- and movie-cameras, and they spoiled the film by exposing it (whenever they could manage to do this). We must emphasize the following point as specifically as possible: The principle "What is not prohibited by law is allowed" pertains to the satisfaction of citizens' needs, interests, and requirements. With regard to the compulsory measures limiting citizens' rights and interests, what is operative here is the following opposite principle: "What is not specified by law is prohibited." And in the case involved here the police also damaged by their illegal actions such socially valuable factors as the inviolability of the person, the honor and dignity of Soviet citizens, as safeguarded by the USSR Constitution.

#### How Should the Passions Be Dampened?

On 17 November 1988 a decree of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was published in the republic's press. Therein it acknowledged that the "undesirable turn of events which occurred on 30 October 1988 could have been avoided if the Minsk soviet organs had devised beforehand and implemented admonitory types of measures excluding the possibility of exacerbating the situation, and if the meeting's organizers and participants had manifested the necessary respect for the law."

For showing "disrespect for the law" 72 persons were arrested on 30 October, and 28 of them were brought before a judge. They were fined (in amounts ranging from 10 to 200 rubles), whereas the remainder were given warnings.

But what about those officials who permitted, as stated in the decree promulgated by the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the "undesirable turn of events"? The leading officials of the Minsk Gori-polkom, those who—either on their own or at someone's else's behest—began boiling all the porridge, were



not punished at all. To be sure, the officials of the Council of Ministers were given a slap on the wrist. L.G. Maksimov, administrator of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, issued an order entitled "On the Pro Forma Attitude Toward Examining the Complaint Made by Citizen A.V. Belyatskiy." This order states the following: "Although there were justifiable grounds for examining the complaint in the government, the officials of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers in charge of handling complaints and letters from working people acted 'inattentively and in a pro forma manner.' Those who had been fined were 'indicated,' and a 'note was made.' But these were service penalties. And how did the Council of Ministers officials, who rejected a complaint from a citizen, respond to him themselves? In what juridical form? And we say the following: in a law-abiding state not only is a citizen responsible to the state—the state is likewise responsible to the citizen. But how? In what way?

And another thing. In certain of the country's rayons a situation has evolved nowadays whereby the police forces are extremely necessary. By acting skillfully and self-sacrificingly, they are preserving our tranquility and ensuring our safety. It is extraordinarily important to inculcate a respect for these lads in police uniforms and to enhance their prestige. But in what do the municipal authorities involve the police force here in Minsk. Solely in order to demonstrate thereby their own helplessness and their own weakness? The persons who had assembled near the cemetery shouted to the policemen: "Dear soldiers, you are our children! What are you doing?" And the "dear soldiers," following their orders, were compelled to barge into the crowd and disperse people. Who will share with these kids the shame which they experienced that day, the shame that they could not help but experience?

Nowadays the officials in Minsk are saying: "We have spent a great deal of time on this event. How much can we devote to it? We must not stir up passions, but rather damp them down." Correct! But the passions were not evoked by items written by newspapermen. The officials themselves incited them as much as they could. They lost control over such a fire of passions—they kept saying to themselves: Just stand firm! And now there is no way that they can damp it down by silence, by collecting water in their mouths. That is the illusion which formerly prevailed: let's keep silent and buttoned down; let's pretend that everything is O.K., and people will calm down and keep their mouths shut. No, they will not calm down; these are vain hopes. The fire of passions caused by the events of 30 October can be damped down by only one thing—the truth spoken out loud. And not cut up and trimmed on all sides—but the whole complete truth. Honest and straightforward.

We live in complicated times. It must be acknowledged that the system of public attitudes which evolved in the past is no longer capable of fully reflecting people's interests and needs. The creation of new attitudes is a

natural and legitimate process. It requires maturity and good sense on the part of the emerging, new democratic forces; it requires political wisdom, self-control, and forbearance on the part of the officials in whose hands the state power is concentrated. It requires from all of us a knowledge and unwavering adherence to the laws.

At that time, on 30 October, the moral feelings of thousands and thousands of Minsk's inhabitants were insulted. And in a civilized society the only remedy for an insult is to offer an apology. At least that.

*As may be seen from this sketch, even now, almost two months after the events involved, clear answers have not been furnished to all the questions connected with them. The editors hope to receive explanations in the spirit of glasnost and legality from the appropriate Belorussian SSR organizations.*

#### **UkSSR Writers' Union Gives Impulse to Revival of National Culture**

18000393a Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
2 Dec 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "Literature in the Perestroika Period"]

[Text] Participants of the board plenum of the Union of Ukrainian Writers, held on 29 and 30 November in Kiev, stated that their task was to analyze the state of contemporary Ukrainian literature and determine ways in which to intensify its sense of civic duty and effectiveness and enhance its ties to the life of the people in the period of perestroika and activation of social thought. A report was read by Yuriy Mushketik, first secretary of the union's board. Analysis of the development of the Ukrainian language, publicism, young writer's works, and problems relating to the study and publication of the literary heritage were dealt with by Dmitro Pavlychko, Yuriy Shcherbak, Ivan Drach, and Mikola Zhulinskiy.

"Life itself," Yuriy Mushketik told the correspondent from RATAU [Ukrainian News Agency], "determined our plenum's topic: 'Ukrainian Literature and the Social Renewal Process.' Today we are living under conditions associated with the rise of new ecological and social relations between people, new forms of economic management, and of constructive discussions initiated by the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

"Perestroika's front is passing directly through our hearts. We are for perestroika! For it rallies us to seek the truth, teaches democracy, makes it possible to employ a more searching approach to the study of our history, culture, language, and, finally, it stimulates deep feelings that nurture literature. Our time is one of deep reflection and powerful analysis.

"It seems to me that there must be a new focus in selecting a leader, in the approach to reality; there must

be a change in evaluation criteria and selection criteria - in publishing and journalistic practice proper. We need - the same as we do air - a new representation of the history of literature, both of the pre-October and the Soviet periods. We need a new literary consciousness and new reference points for creativity. We are basing our hopes on legislative action; in particular, we are looking forward to state protection of our native language, with state concern for the development of all languages of other nationalities residing within the republic, and with Russian functioning as the language of unity between the various nationalities. A sense of urgency now attaches to the problem of organizing a joint plenum of the republic's creative unions to deal with problems of national cultural development.

"The present literary situation consists of three aspects: the rehabilitation of literary figures; the so-called 'drawer works'; and works being produced at the present time. We can point to definite achievements in each aspect. We possess a remarkable mass of historical and historical-biographic literature. We have reason to believe that it will expand in the coming years. The national-patriotic motif, which due to well-known reasons was expressed until recently in highly subdued tones, has become more distinct in its expression. Here, as nowhere else, we need in-depth examination of the problem, artistic truthfulness in dealing with the subject, and skill in exposing historical facts as facts common to all mankind which can serve as a vital lesson for all times and for all peoples. With the foregoing as a basis, we must approach the creation of works dealing not only with times past, but with very recent events as well. I also see here problems of ecology, the role of man in government, and the tragedy of the peasant and the earth. This entails taking on new controversy, broaching subjects which were forbidden during the time of stagnation, and evaluating vital situations from a realistic standpoint. However, we are still unfortunately merely contemplating all of this.

"Ukrainian children's literature is also seriously in need of help," continued Yu. Mushketik. "The stagnation mechanism which we are presently dismantling everywhere unfortunately remains fully effective in determining readers' interests via schools, school textbooks, and children's libraries. If we lose a reader in the pre-school and school years, we may lose him forever. Revolutionary renewal is needed in work dealing with literary criticism and the history and theory of literature.

"While we have much to say about responsibility to the people, we nevertheless do not have a clear view of the latter in today's reality, of the changes that have occurred in the people in all areas: social, material, and national. In our creativity there is much inertia, informational fixation, overly conscientious portrayal; attempts to detach ourselves and write 'pure' literature also exist. I believe that literature always had the purpose of bringing out civic courage in people, of safeguarding and enriching the spiritual values of the people. To find themselves

in time, to find themselves in the people, to defend their interests - this is the primary task facing writers."

The plenum participants stressed that the artistic and scientific intelligentsia should be at the forefront of societal renewal. The Ukrainian writers' organization defined its position with sufficient clarity: perestroika, democracy, glasnost. Standing on principles of Marxism-Leninism, on the soil of realism, with a good knowledge of the power wielded by words, men of letters, as stated in the speeches, understand perestroika as an objective necessity born of people's suffering, as cleansing of ideals, their enrichment. They remember that in history it is deeds and only deeds that remain.

L. M. Kravchuk, chief of the Ideological Department of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, also spoke at the plenum.

#### **Academics on BSSR Campaign Against Popular Front**

18000393b Moscow OGONEK in Russian  
No 51, 17-24 Dec 88 p 4

[Letter to the editors by E.S. Dabagyan, candidate of historical sciences, and A.P. Karavayev, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] In issue No 47 of OGONEK of this year Vasil Bykov, a people's writer of Belorussia and Hero of Socialist Labor, told the story of the crude treatment of Minsk residents who on 30 October of this year had set out, on the traditional Ancestor Remembrance Day, to visit cemeteries where victims of Stalinist repressions are buried. Vasil Bykov's mentioning that "internal security troops" had been employed against the demonstrators was not entirely accurate on his part, since there are no such troops either in the USSR MVD or the Ministry of Defense, but this has no bearing on the matter. It is difficult to imagine that something of this nature can happen in our country in a time when we are pursuing glasnost and democratization and creating a law-abiding state.

We are convinced that that which happened on 30 October is a logical extension of a systematic and purposeful campaign against popular support of perestroika that has developed in Belorussia. Thus, in the middle of October the press and television launched violent attacks calculated to discredit the creative intelligentsia and drive a wedge between various strata of society. We have reason to believe that that which happened was motivated by conservative forces in their desire to wage open warfare against the growing movement of active supporters of social renewal to frighten them and hinder formation of the Popular Front in its defense of perestroika.

We are convinced that an objective investigation should be carried out in the republic. The organizers of these deplorable acts should be exposed and charged with violations in the area of administrative, and, possibly,

criminal responsibility. There is no doubt that they already bear moral responsibility.

The events that occurred in Minsk lead us to certain reflections. About glasnost and its limits, for example. We all should know that information on the events that occurred in Belorussia was published after much time had passed, by only a few press organs and in a highly truncated form.

It is apparent that the delegates to the forthcoming Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR should review these questions in the light of the decisions resulting from the 19th All-Union Party Conference, particularly the resolution "Democratization of Soviet Society and Reform of the Political System."

Finally, we would like to say that that which took place on 30 October in Minsk is a matter pertaining to all Soviet citizens.

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#### **Estonian Green Movement Joins International Environmental Organization** 18150004

[Editorial Report] Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian on 1 December 1988 carries on page 4 a 700-word article by Mario Kivistik entitled "Tallinn - Naples - Krakow: Our Greens in the International Arena." The author is one of the three representatives of the Estonian Green Movement (EGM) attending the FOEI (Friends of the Earth International) September conference in Naples, and also the October conference in Krakow, where the EGM was accepted as the 33rd member of the FOEI, and the very first out of the Soviet Union. The article notes that "the Estonian Green Movement is the flagship of environmental perestroika in the Soviet Union, and has as such attracted considerable attention on both sides of the border."

Among concerns discussed by its delegates, and unique to the Estonian GM, the article mentions: the phosphate issue, the cellulose factory, and the shale-mining region of Northeast Estonia. Attending, along with the author, were Vello Pohla and Eino Vaartnou.

The article also noted an international conference to be held in Tallinn in the coming year which will deal with the protection of the Baltic Sea.

Advantages of the FOEI membership, according to the article, include: access to the member-shared data bank, operational exchange of information, and organizational and material support, including testing and communications technology.

#### **Support Expressed for Estonian Sovereignty Decree**

**Baltic Lawyers Stress Legal Rights**  
18000242 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 19 Nov 88 p 4

[ETA report by P. Raydla: "The Lawyers' Opinion: The Decisions Are Legal"]

[Text] On November 17 and 18, in Tallinn a seminar of the Baltic republic's lawyers took place, which reviewed, in particular, the results of the November 16 Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Session. It was noted that the session was a significant step toward democratization of our society and restoration of the principles of true federalism in the USSR. The great socio-political importance of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet's declaration titled "On the Sovereignty of the Estonian SSR" was stressed at the seminar.

On November 18, a press conference of the three republics' lawyers took place at the Press House. It was noted that as a sovereign republic the Estonian SSR had a full right to modify Article 74 of its Constitution. The sovereignty of the USSR as a whole is sum total of the sovereignties of its republics. No one is denying the sovereignty of the republics. Yet, whoever has the right to the whole (as per Article 72 of the USSR Constitution), has the right to its components.

If a constitutional conflict arises, there are two ways of resolving it: a political one, primarily at the negotiating table, or a legal one. Yet, an impartial arbitrator is needed to achieve just solution of a legal conflict.

The amendment to Article 74 of the Estonian SSR Constitution concerns due process by which union laws and normative acts come into force in the republic, i.e. registration. Registration is a procedure whereby the constitutionality of a union law is checked against the Constitution of the union republic. The right of final registration belongs to the republic's Supreme Soviet. Preliminary registration, conducted by the Supreme Soviet's Presidium, is presented for discussion to the regular Supreme Soviet session, where it has to be approved. If preliminary registration is denied, the union law is temporarily suspended.

Certain union normative acts, including ministry and industry orders, are considered to be in force in the republic unless ruled unconstitutional by the court.

The Baltic republics' jurists and practicing lawyers discussed several other issues at the press conference.



**Artists, Academics Reproach Media**  
18000242 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 24 Nov 88 p 4

[Open letter signed by Vladimir Beekman, chairman of the Writers Union's Board and others: "Appeal to the Scientific and Creative Intelligentsia of the USSR"]

[Text] Dear Friends!

Respected Colleagues!

The tense situation surrounding the events in Estonia compels us to call upon you to lend your support to the legitimate demands of the majority of the republic's population. These demands found their legislative expression in the acts passed on November 16 by the extraordinary 8th Session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. The declaration, which was approved by an overwhelming majority of deputies, reflected the people's will to remain part of the Soviet federal state, but as a sovereign socialist republic. The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet passed an amendment to Article 74 of the Estonian SSR Constitution in which the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet affirmed its sovereignty and right to delay or set limits to the application of any USSR legislative or other normative act if this act violates the sovereignty of the Estonian SSR, regulates issues which, according to the Estonian SSR Constitution, should be regulated by the Estonian SSR itself or does not take into consideration special characteristics of the republic.

We are alarmed by the initial response of the union media to the decision of the extraordinary session. This reaction indicates the existence of some very influential forces that are trying to use clearly outdated constitutional provisions to limit the sovereignty of the national republics and preserve the Stalinist centralized methods of administration. It is possible that the negative official attitude toward the decision of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet will lead to a serious constitutional crisis and set a precedent that could gravely interrupt the process of perestroika in inter-ethnic and other relations. There is a danger that Estonia's people, its best hopes frustrated, turns from being an active participant in perestroika into a sideline observer. The main direction of the programmatic acts passed at the session creates favorable conditions for effecting necessary economic reforms and makes it possible for the republic to shift to republic-wide self-financing. Only based on total sovereignty is it possible to fully overcome the unchecked dictatorship of central authorities which have become the main stumbling block in the development of regional economies and thus of our country's economy.

Since no objective information on events in the Estonian SSR exists, we believe that we must refute all attempts to portray events in Estonia as an orgy of nationalistic passions and to blow a few negative occurrences and poorly thought-out statements out of proportion in order

to obscure the general democratic and socialist character of the changes underway in the republic. The tendentious disinfestation campaign waged by some central publications and other mass media entities has provoked our indignation. It misrepresents the real situation and the true balance of forces. Such a campaign, as well as irresponsible rumors about the Estonian SSR's putative intention to secede from the USSR, create an image of an enemy in the minds of the country's multimillion audience and, more dangerously, stoke an interethnic conflict in our republic.

We have a great hope that the scientific and creative public in the country will lend their full support to the people of Estonia and prevent hasty decisions which are dangerous both to the development of normal interethnic relations in the country and to the entire necessary process of democratization of our public life.

[Signed]: Vladimir Beekman, Chairman of the Writers Union's Board, Estonian SSR Honored Writer, USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy; Prof. Rem Blum, Tartu State University (TSU), Ph.D. Philosophy; Yak Kaarma, Chairman of the Estonian SSR State Committee on Culture; Eugen Kapov, Hero of Socialist Labor, USSR State Prize Laureate, USSR People's Artist; Kalyu Kiysk, Estonian SSR People's Artist, Member of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet's Presidium; Yan Kross, USSR State Prize Laureate, Estonian SSR People's Writer; Khendrik Krumm, USSR People's Artist; Yuri Kyarner, Ph.D. Biology, TSU Rector; Venno Laul, Chairman of the Estonian SSR Musical Society, Estonian SSR People's Artist, Rector of the Tallinn State Conservatory; Mikk Mikiver, Chairman of the Estonian SSR Theatrical Union's Management, USSR State Prize Laureate, Estonian SSR People's Artist; Prof. Victor Palm, TSU, Ph.D. Chemistry, Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Member; Mati Palm, USSR State Prize Laureate, Estonian SSR People's Artist; Andrus Pork, Ph.D. Philosophy, Correspondent Member of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences; Enn Pyldroos, Chairman of the Estonian SSR Artists Union's Management, the Estonian Communist Party Buro's Candidate Member, Estonian SSR People's Artist; Tiyu Randviir, USSR People's Artist; Yan Ryaets, Chairman of the Estonian SSR Composers Union's Management, Estonian SSR People's Artist; Prof. Eyno Tamberg, Tallinn State Conservatory, Estonian SSR People's Artist; Boris Tamm, Ph.D. Technical Sciences, Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Member, Rector of the Tallinn Polytechnical Institute, Estonian Communist Party Buro's Member; Velyo Tormis, USSR State Prize Laureate, USSR People's Artist; Prof. Khans Trass, TSU, Ph.D. Biology, Correspondent Member of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences; Prof. Gustav Ernesaks, Hero of Socialist Labor, USSR Lenin and State Prize Laureate, USSR People's Artist; Yuri Yarvet, USSR State Prize Laureate, USSR People's Artist, USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy.

## Debate Continues on Moldavian Language Initiatives

### 'Critical State' Lamented

18000392 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA  
in Russian 14 Dec 88 p 3

[Article by Candidate of Medical Sciences V. Kalin, senior scientific worker of the Moldavian at the Moldavian Scientific Research Institute of Preventive and Clinical Medicine, member of the CPSU: "An 'SOS' for the Moldavian Language and National Culture"]

#### [Text] Esteemed Editors!

I request that you print my article, "An 'SOS' for the Moldavian Language and National Culture." I wrote it on my own initiative, especially for the Russian-speaking populace; for, because of their lack of knowledge of the Moldavian language, an absolute majority of its representatives cannot read the newspapers and magazines published in the Moldavian language, in which the questions of the status and the development of international relationships and the role of language are much more widely elucidated, in comparison with the Russian-language publications.

I hope that after you have familiarized yourselves with the content of the article, you will find the courage (in conditions of democracy, glasnost and pluralism of opinions) to sanction its publication on the pages of your newspaper. My request is that you do this, as much as possible, with a minimum amount of editing, so that it does not turn out that the baby is thrown out with the bath-water.

Questions raised of late on attributing official state status to the Moldavian language and on reviving the practice of writing in Latin script (as was the case prior to 1938 in the Moldavian ASSR), as well as the discussions developing in the republic press on these questions (unfortunately, on the whole only in newspapers and magazines published in the Moldavian language)—that is what motivated me to express certain considerations.

As a rule, the level of perception of a nation's spiritual values, the knowledge and mastery by each of us of several languages besides our native tongue also defines the level of culture and development of any civilized person. I can say frankly and painfully that as an indigenous Moldavian, I am ashamed for my native language. In actuality, it has been transformed into a kind of surrogate, in the figurative sense of the word, and at the present time is in a critical state. Right now one can hear left and right in the colloquial speech of Moldavians such monstrous expressions as: "Mesuratsim pressure shi skrietsi-m nishte ukoale se m-o snizhaske;" "I am got yn line dupe kalgotche la departement store may mult de un hour de time;" "Am Avut

concussion shi m'o pus yn hospital;" "Nu m'au entering la lukru nurse's aide, findke n'am registration" and so on.

Perhaps someone among the citizens of non-indigenous nationality can tell me what fate awaits the language of our land and the development of our national culture in the future, if we Moldavians continue to converse and talk among ourselves in such a manner. Where has the true Moldavian language been banished, and whose fault is it? Perhaps the Russian colloquial language will also be enriched in this manner and the multinational culture of our country will be developed accordingly?! Can one develop the spiritual values of one's native territory and raise up a new generation of talented composers, poets, writers and artists in this manner? Meanwhile, people of various nationalities are living and working in the Moldavian republic (more than one-third of the population)—and they are our fellow-citizens. Many of them have lived here for a very long time, nearly all their lives. Moldavia has become a second motherland for them, and their attitude toward this land, its language and national culture is, from their point of view supposedly (at least I think so)...well, let's say that of a respectful relative. But what has in fact happened?

Often we Moldavians are blamed: It's your own fault, they say, that the Russians, Ukrainians and representatives of other nationalities—who take up permanent residence in our republic under various objective and subjective circumstances (lack of specialists in this or that branch, assistance in building plants and factories)—do not know the Moldavian language; after all, the necessary conditions were not established for its study; that is, there was no linguistic milieu. In my own opinion, such accusations are not very well founded; for those who reason in this manner reveal their own intellectual limitations. Or they are thinking in the bureaucratic way, in the retro-style. For, those who can leave their native land lightheartedly will also have a lackadaisical and irresponsible attitude toward the language and cultural values of a nation which offers them genuine hospitality. Moreover, this has taken place, because "a fish rots from the head."

The national policy conducted by the tsarist autocracy, Stalin's methods of solving national questions, and Brezhnev's and Bodyul's [former Moldavian CP CC first secretary] theories on the allegedly flourishing nations and languages in a unified fraternal Soviet family, all led to a situation in which for decades the most valuable things in the spiritual life of the indigenous population of Moldavia have been trampled—their national consciousness, their language, and their history. It is not for nothing that the people are saying that we have been placed in such a position that, "ne-am vyndut nu numay limba, dar shi sufletul."

Under the present conditions of democracy and glasnost, the Russian-speaking populace, instead of cooperating in eliminating this age-old flaw in international relations,

have increasingly become indignant when the question is raised of expanding the social functions of the Moldavian language and increasing the cultural and spiritual values of our people. It turns out that it is as if I, a Moldavian, had moved to France, and had begun to implant my own procedures and demanded that the French speak with me in Moldavian, and carry out my instructions, ignoring the local national culture. And that is precisely the phenomenon we observe in Moldavia. And do you know why? The Moldavian people, are by nature a very respectable, hospitable and benevolent people; its representatives are mostly highly moral people in the spiritual plane. This was noted at the turn of the century, as the well-known Russian scholar, traveler and geographer P.P. Semenov-Tyan-Shanskiy, who wrote "Rossiya. Nashe Otechestvo" [Russia. Our Fatherland] in 1910. In this book he provided descriptions of the various nationalities and nations of tsarist Russia. On page 203 he writes, "The distinguishing characteristics of the Moldavians are their honesty, sobriety, high moral character, and respect for the old and the precepts of the past." And that is just the way we are in fact, judging from the statements of P.P. Semenov-Tyan-Shanskiy.

Taking advantage of these qualities, entire generations and cohorts (unbroken ranks, comrades-in-arms) of Russians and other nationalities (frequently not having skills in great demand) have moved to Moldavia from all corners of the land (after all, ours is a pleasant region); and they began to implant and introduce their own procedures, oppressing us in everything, not troubling themselves even to learn the language of the indigenous population, not to mention cooperating in the development and enrichment of the national culture and so on. I understand true internationalists as follows: Whereas you have moved here and have become a part of our commonwealth (taken up permanent residence in Moldavia), and you often receive apartments from the state out of turn; then be good enough to take in and respect Moldavian culture—not only outwardly, but in your hearts.

Judging from articles in the republic press, the Russian-speaking populace is increasingly trying to tendentiously accuse, and at times even surreptitiously slight, the creative and scientific intelligentsia of the republic, as well as other strata of the populace; accusing them of regionalism, exclusiveness, and even nationalism—which is totally unacceptable under conditions of perestroika. In the first place, we must once and for all distinguish and not confuse such concepts as "national dignity" and "nationalism." They are different both in meaning and in substance. Secondly, they should not be pasting all kinds of other labels on the Moldavians.

I deeply respect the Russians (most of whom are open-hearted) and the representatives of other nationalities who dwell in my republic; I speak Russian well as a medium of international intercourse, to which this article testifies, being written specially in the Russian language, in order that everyone might read it (if the article is published, of

which I have my doubts), and that they might understand and correctly analyze the situation which has taken shape in the republic today, which has all of us genuinely worried. At the same time I wish the Russian-speaking populace would demonstrate that they do in fact respect us and that they would help our multi-national socialist culture develop and prosper. As it has turned out, they, being cut off from their people, are actually incapable of contributing their mite, neither to the development of the culture of their own people, nor to that of the culture in which they live, because of the language barrier. Just look: who visits the theaters and concerts put on in Moldavian? On the whole it is only we, the Moldavians, and in rare instances our guests. But the representatives of other nationalities ignore them. Does this really promote friendship and harmony? A man who ignores, who displays a loathing for the language of the land on which he has taken up residence, and for the culture of the people of this land: this man not only is not a complete person, he is a danger to society. It could be I am mistaken, and you might want to refute certain instances, arguments and facts. After all, under current conditions, pluralism of opinion is permitted by law.

The assertion in the Theses of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers, "Firmly Establish Perestroika with Specific Deeds," that opening Moldavian language courses and study groups for persons of non-indigenous nationality, without giving official state status to the Moldavian language and restoring Latin script, or financing these circles and courses with popular education funds—that is nothing but a profanation of the very idea; it is just another item for the enterprises, organizations and party raykoms to check off, and is another campaign to pass off the desired for what actually exists.

Also groundless are the assertions that, "transition to the Latin alphabet would require the spending of billions, and enormous material support." It would be interesting to find out whether it also required an enormous amount of assets for the transition to Cyrillic in 1938, when Stalin actually put our language and Latin alphabet "in front of the firing squad?" I believe that our writing is also worthy of rehabilitation, for it was innocently repressed and annihilated in the years of the Stalin personality cult. Were we really wealthier then than we are now? I propose that the Inter-departmental Commission of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the Study of the History and Problems of Development of the Moldavian Language display the initiative, the independence, and in the final analysis the strength and courage—that it objectively resolve the problem of attributing official status to the Moldavian language and returning the Latin alphabet to it—without waiting for any kind of "instructions from above" with appropriate proposals. If anyone entertains any doubts on the necessity of a positive solution to this question, or on my reasoning, he should turn to the statements of the great Lenin. He wrote: "Local self-governing institutions and autonomous seyms determine the language in which the affairs of all state and social institutions are conducted in a given locality or region;



moreover, any minority of another nationality has the right to demand unconditional protection of the rights of its language on the basis of the principle of equality..." (Vol 45, p 361); and further, "It is necessary to make strict rules with respect to the use of the national language in the national republics which enter our union, and examine these rules with great care... Here a detailed code is required, which only the nationals living in the given republic can compile with any degree of success at all" (Vol 45, p 361). No further commentary is needed here.

The republic party organization and the government of the Moldavian SSR must pay heed, before it is too late, to the opinions and the voice of reason of the broad masses and the scholars (After all, we live in the same regional domicile); otherwise they will find themselves cut off from the people. As a communist, I am concerned and have a premonition of this. The representatives of the highest echelon of power, together with the representatives of the Russian-speaking populace, must appear more often at the unofficial organizations in the republic; they must demonstrate that they are indeed true allies of perestroika; they must listen to what the people are saying; and they must teach the simple people the culture of discussion, using the actual, real situation and facts. For the truth emerges in debate, and justice will triumph sooner or later—especially in such a finicky and delicate question as the role of language in the development of international relations. They must not be bystanders, and sit quietly in their offices, waiting silently. They should appear more often on radio and television, and distinctly and convincingly react to the barometer of the times, in a timely fashion; and they should be in the thick of current events. But the impression is created, that certain of the comrades from the republic-echelon of power are nearing the end of their days in the leadership of the broad masses. One could also interpret things thus, that we want a Moldavian variety of Nagornyy Karabakh. When the thunderclap is heard, it will be too late.

The published Theses, "Firmly Establish Perestroika with Specific Deeds," is in my view a hastily-prepared document and requires significant revisions and additions in all its sections, and especially the third—since in its present variant the Theses do not provide guidance for action; they were compiled in the spirit of the time of stagnation and do not promote the consolidation of efforts and means to carry out concrete deeds and actions at all levels of society in the republic, for realizing the resolutions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

#### Editor's Response

18000392 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA  
in Russian 14 Dec 88 p 3

[Editorial: "From the Editors"]

[Text] We were, as Kalin can attest, bold enough. We are publishing his article without cuts or any kind of alteration whatsoever, and with a minimum of stylistic

corrections. As for the latter, well that is an operation to which practically all material is subject, the more so if the author is not a professional journalist or writer.

One cannot help noticing that Kalin too very boldly assaults the extremely urgent problems, one must admit, in the life of our republic. On the whole, both are bold—both the author and the editors... And if today, in our very complex times, everything could be solved by boldness alone, oh how simple it would be for us to live. But there is a far greater distance between democracy at meetings and true democracy, than there is from the stagnation in public life to the stormy splashes of life which we see now. We must learn still more wisdom, to weigh our thoughts, to think before acting; and we must learn to listen to and hear one another. Those whom the state and the people have raised to rather high levels in science, technology and the arts; those on whom it has bestowed a very respectful title—the intelligentsia—must above all understand this and set the example for such an approach.

Insisting upon publication of his article without any changes and corrections in essence, Kalin stresses, "that we don't throw out the baby with the bathwater." All right, it's an author's right to set such conditions. But the editors too have the right to call the readers' attention to what kind of baby it is; or more likely, what kind of child is in the font.

We can understand Kalin's pain for his native language. There are truly a lot of problems here. But must one assert, even for the most noble motives, that the Moldavian language has been turned into a kind of surrogate. After all, there are people in any nation who do not put themselves to the trouble of learning the riches of their native tongue, and trash it up. But after all, there are also a lot of others—such as Ion Drutse and Andrey Lupan, let's say, from whom one can and should learn one's native language. Were there the desire.

And Kalin becomes quick-tempered when he begins to explain, "Where has the true Moldavian language been banished, and whose fault is it." The guilty parties are, of course, those who moved in, "the Russians, Ukrainians and representatives of other nationalities—who take up permanent residence in our republic under various objective and subjective circumstances (lack of specialists in this or that branch, assistance in building plants and factories)..." Note, that assistance on their part is not denied. Just don't wait for words of gratitude. But that is not the author's purpose. He has something else to prove. "For, those who can leave their native land lightheartedly will also have a lackadaisical and irresponsible attitude toward the language and cultural values of a nation which offers them genuine hospitality." Somehow there is not much hospitality in those words. On the other hand one can clearly see something else—a wholesale disregard for the people who at one time came to help, and without whom for example, that very institution from which Kalin along with thousands of other

native citizens of the republic graduated, would not exist (although he could easily have studied in some other city in the country).

Wholesale disrespect and indiscriminate accusation, unfortunately, are characteristic of the entire article. Unfortunately—because, such an approach hardly promotes consolidation of forces for the solution of common problems. According to Kalin, not to mention all the other things, only Moldavians and on rare occasions their guests, attend concerts presented in Moldavian, and representatives of other nationalities living in the republic ignore them. But, first of all, many—unfortunately, a great many—Russians, Ukrainians and Moldavians never go to the theater at all. And secondly, is that a scientifically-established fact, the author's aforementioned ignoring?

Kalin, in passing, without proof and just as indiscriminately, casts aspersions on the leadership of the republic and on the Theses—and not a word on what, specifically, he has personally done for perestroika.

It is hard to accept the thought that in his candidate's dissertation Kalin somehow manipulated the facts and the data, and remained silent on those things which for some reason did not suit him. But you see, in his article, he considers this possible. For example, several times he recounts the arbitrary transition from the Latin alphabet to the Cyrillic in 1938, and "forgets" to say that several years prior to this, also by arbitrary decision, a transition was made to the Latin alphabet from the Cyrillic, which prior to that time had been used in the region for centuries. The complex problems of the functioning of the country's unified economic organism and the complex processes of migration brought about principally by economic needs, to include those of the republic, he reduces to a couple of contradictory, common maxims. Why did "entire generations and cohorts of Russians and other nationalities" move to Moldavia? Moreover, quite often not having skills in great demand? They were taking advantage of the fact that the Moldavian people are by nature very respectable, hospitable and benevolent. No one will quarrel about the nature of the Moldavian people—it is actually like the author cited, the Russian traveler Semenov-Tyan-Shanskiy described it. But is it necessary, in stressing this fact, to indiscriminately accuse the representatives of other nationalities? (We shall not quote them, the reader can see all that himself.) Or, let's say, make it appear that there are not tens of thousands of people in the republic (Bulgars, Gagauzes, Jews) and hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, to whom history has also given this land?

We shall, however, ask ourselves: What goal was Kalin pursuing, insisting upon publication of his article for the Russian-speaking populace? (He, incidentally, delivered it to the editors himself, demanded that it be registered, and dropped in the following day in order to make certain changes.) In order to try to convince someone of something? Judging from the tone of the article, hardly. A man of learning cannot but know that in order to convince and

explain anything a different approach is needed. Then why did he write it? Isn't it a pity, but the key, I think, is at the end: "The republic party organization and the government of the Moldavian SSR must pay heed, before it is too late, to the opinion and the voice of reason of the broad masses and the scholars." (One for all: both for the broad masses and for the scholars.) "One could also interpret things thus, that we want a Moldavian variety of Nagornyy Karabakh." It is not hard to guess what Kalin is threatening. What is not clear is whether it was only "by my own initiative," as he stresses in his accompanying letter, or yet by someone else's instigation. Only it is not fitting for him, a physician, to take the name of Nagornyy Karabakh in vain. That is a sore spot for the entire country; a sore and not a subject for speculative debate.

As far as the rest is concerned, let the reader judge for himself—whether Kalin is taking a party position in what he is fighting for.

**Readers Demand Autonomy for Gagauz People**  
18000406 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA  
in Russian 25 Dec 88 p 3

[Open letter signed by G. Stomatov, F. Dobrov, D. Babarayka and D. Savastin: "In the Name of Genuine Equality!"]

[Text] We have read the "Open Letter" written by the Moldavian cultural workers regarding the problems of a state language (the newspaper NARODNOYE OBRAZOVANIYE, 17 September 1988). It seems rather strange to us that the comrades who have signed this document mention only in passing the citizens of non-Moldavian nationality (Russians, Ukrainians, Gagauz, Bulgarians and others) inhabiting the territory of the republic.

We cannot but subscribe to a number of progressive ideas contained in the letter, but nevertheless would like to draw the attention of its authors and the public to some matters of principle.

To begin with, it is difficult to single out one indigenous population living in the territory along the Dnestr and Prut rivers. Among its early settlers we could find Slavs, Goths, Daks, Turkic people and many many others. Their descendants continue to inhabit this territory, and so they can be equally regarded as the indigenous population of the area.

The Gagauz have lived cheek and jowl with the Moldavians for several centuries. The historical records contain quite a few examples of our strong friendship that was steered in the struggle against common enemies. Unfortunately, these traditions of internationalist brotherhood were underdeveloped in some of their aspects during the period of stagnation. Take the language problem for example. The authors of the "Open Letter" believe that the Moldavian language is in a disastrous situation. This is irrespective of the fact that Moldavia has several active national publishers, that books in the Moldavian language run into tens of thousands and the

newspapers and magazines, into hundreds of thousands and that the editorial offices of the Republic radio and TV work in the Moldavian language. There are schools, instruction at the institutions of higher learning...

What can we say, then, regarding the situation with the Gagauz language? ANA SOZU, a supplement to the newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIA, was launched only this year. The number of books is insignificant, there is no magazine, no national theater, the volume of broadcasting and telecasting in Gagauz is rather scanty in volume. Even the history of our people has not been researched well enough. Up till now, the schools in the southern part of the republic conduct a degrading - from our point of view - survey of the students: Do they want to study the Gagauz language?

It is known that according to the 1897 census, the literacy standards of the Gagauz population were 2.5 times higher than those of the Moldavians. Now there are four times fewer Gagauz who have higher education than the Moldavians.

Paradoxically, the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Interdepartmental Commission was established only to solve the problems of the development of the Moldavian language.

It is to be recalled that Vladimir Ilych Lenin spoke well to the demand to grant privileges to any one language: "Social democracy", he wrote, "rejects a state language...any measure through which the national majority would like to establish a national privilege for itself or to curtail the rights of the national minority in the sphere of education, a use of one language or another in the budget matters and so on must be declared invalid and the implementation of such a measure must be banned under the threat of punishment."

It is known that no state language has been introduced in our country (de jure). Nevertheless, the Gagauz people have chosen the Russian language as their "second language", since it established itself as a language of intranational communication. It was chosen voluntarily, without any coercion and without the adoption of any administrative acts.

But since the demands to recognize the Moldavian language as a state language are becoming more vociferous today, we have decided to make demands of our own. We demand an autonomy for our development and the recognition of the Gagauz language as an official language within the territory of this autonomy. We demand material compensation to offset the damage inflicted upon the social and the spiritual culture of our people during the stagnation period.

[Signed] G. Stomatov, F. Dobrov, D. Babarayka, D. Savastin.

**Former Latvian Popular Front Member Cites  
Constituent Congress' Shortcomings**  
18000203 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
1 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview with Eduard Eduardovich Aboltinsh, physics department head at RKIIGA, delegate to the Latvian Popular Front constituent congress: "In the Name of a Single Goal"]

[Text] [Question] Eduard Eduardovich, above all I would like to know if you are still a member of the Popular Front?

[Aboltinsh] No. Unfortunately, the hopes that I had placed on the congress were unwarranted. After careful study of the published NFL [Latvian Popular Front] program, I am once again certain that, as a communist, I cannot support many of its fundamentally important tenets. By the way, the entire delegation that represented RKIIGA at the congress supports this same opinion.

[Question] As everyone knows, your delegation was deprived of mandates by the majority of votes on the first day of the congress. Could you tell us what happened in more detail?

[Aboltinsh] You may recall that among the basic corrections which we had deemed necessary to make in the NFL program (which was written in our platform, published in IA and in SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH) was a more precise definition to the effect that the NFL is a social, not a sociopolitical organization. "Social" was written in the draft program, but the term "sociopolitical" was only contained in the draft rules.

When the congress decided that the NFL should nevertheless be considered a sociopolitical organization, I gave a retort, having expressed my doubt that, as a communist, I could simultaneously belong to two political organizations, in fact to two parties. The reaction was strange: a proposal was made to deprive us of mandates. Since the majority of delegates supported this proposal, we left the congress.

True, somewhat later one of the members of the NFL Coordinating Council explained that the NFL is not a political party and that a misunderstanding had occurred. They asked us to return to the congress. Understanding that one must rise above personal insults in such serious and responsible work, we participated in the second day of the congress, when they returned the delegate mandates to us by a majority vote.

[Question] What were your basic impressions of the congress?



[Aboltinsh] From the first, alarm and dissatisfaction emerged, although initially we had hoped that these "trifles" would not be of fundamental significance. So, it was difficult to agree with the fact that the red-white-red flag on the stage, which covered the bas relief of Lenin himself, was the only flag—neither the LaSSR State Flag nor the USSR State Flag had found a place.

It would have been possible to relate to individual extremist speeches from the rostrum quite calmly, but, firstly, there were many such speeches and, secondly, most of them evoked not simply applause, but literally standing ovations from the hall. Yet, after all, according to NFL data, virtually one-third of those in the hall were communists!...

The speech by Ivan Chizhevskiy, who tried to justify the atrocities of fascism, was the apogee of extremely right-wing views, insulting to Soviet man. Again, there was a standing ovation—it was unbelievable, monstrous! Moreover, in this case the highly one-sided "democracy" of the congress was clearly manifested, since it turned out to be virtually impossible to give a rebuff, to obtain an opportunity to speak from the rostrum. During the translation of the congress, tens of thousands of people asked themselves: is there really no one in the entire hall to raise an objection to one such as Chizhevskiy?! They did not know that, having strived persistently for this, Professor R. Vinogradov had obtained this opportunity. But where?—In the Little Hall, in front of a tape recorder and 20-30 listeners. Only at the end of the congress, as a result of appeals by television viewers to the presidium, was Chizhevskiy's speech condemned, and did the NFL decisively condemn fascism. However, all the same, this was not the kind of polemics, not the kind of discussion which we had hoped for. This was not democracy. Pluralism turned out to be very one-sided.

I would also not call the elections to the Duma a triumph of democracy: out of the 100 candidates on the voting list, precisely 100 were brought in, but there was not a single other candidate for the post of chairman, besides Daynis Ivans.

[Question] Do you think that the congress will be of no use whatsoever?

[Aboltinsh] No, I do not think that. Although, alas, in my opinion, inter-ethnic relations became even more aggravated after the congress.

In speaking of the congress, what positive things can be noted about it? Above all, it is unquestionably very good that thousands and thousands of people were able to watch it on television, including the Russian-speaking population, for which a simultaneous broadcast was transmitted on the radio. It should be stated that a great many people, who do not read newspapers in Latvian, essentially really saw the situation which has taken shape in the republic for the first time, and were able to judge many things for themselves, not from the words of

journalists and commentators. Secondly, the congress pointed out the activeness of the masses, which is growing incommensurately, compared to the recent past. Before the congress the Latvian population, basically, had displayed this political activeness. Let us note that the Russian-speaking population has also "come out of hibernation" now.

The congress has forced us once again to very sharply sense the dissatisfaction with the work of the republic's party organization in over recent years and months. For example, it has not performed active explanatory work among the Russian-speaking population and has not utilized the mass information media to the proper extent. As a result, everything that happened at the congress was a bolt from the blue for many people.

[Question] Eduard Eduardovich, the refusal to cooperate with the NFL and the creation of the International Front forces one to think about whether or not an unnecessary confrontation is arising, whether the situation with inter-ethnic relations, already strained without this, is being intensified? Would you please talk about why you consider it impossible to work within the framework of the NFL, in the form of a group or a faction (the name does not matter), which could have declared its, so to speak, "autonomous nature" and its disagreement with a number of the program's tenets from the very beginning?

[Aboltinsh] There are compromises and there are compromises. Today the NFL is a political organization whose program does not directly state (this point was emphasized) the acknowledgment of the guiding role of the Communist Party, rejects the need for centralized power, raises the question of the need for an overwhelming number of representatives of the Latvian nationality within agencies of power, etc.

Under these conditions, an attempt to subscribe to the framework of the NFL is unprincipled. However, you were incorrect in saying that Interfront refuses to cooperate: not in the least! We ardently support everything that works in favor of restructuring, strengthening Soviet power, and creating a legitimate state.

There should be no confrontation between our movements, although both are called fronts, but a few puns are inevitable. We are not on different sides of the front line, and our goals are in many ways alike. Perhaps, it is even good that two organizations, and not one, have sprung up. Thus, we will be able to criticize each other and participate in discussions—this is a more rapid and direct path to our goals. Moreover, I believe that people who truly, not just in words, love this land where they live, for whom respect and love towards people, respect of national dignity and faith in the Leninist principles and ideals are highest of all, understand each other.

(From the newspaper INZHENER AEROFLOTA)

**APN Correspondent on Latvian Popular Front,  
Constituent Congress**  
*18000202 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian*  
*1 Nov 88 p 3*

[Article by APN Correspondent Georgiy Afanasyev, under the "School of Democracy" rubric: "Latvian Popular Front Starting Not Only With Applause"]

[Text] The constituent congress of the Latvian Popular Front was held in Riga in early October. The supporters of restructuring have based many hopes on the appearance of this sociopolitical organization. Why is it that these days in the republic's capital I have even repeatedly heard the direct warning: this movement itself threatens to become a serious problem, and its actions may lead society to unpleasant consequences?

**The Beginning**

The idea of the Popular Front came into being within the circles of Latvian informal groups this spring. At that time, the Popular Front was viewed as a mass organization, opposing the administrative-command methods of management and the bureaucratic apparatus. It was intended that it would organize the democratic forces which are striving to put imminent changes into practice.

An organizing body formed in June and July which took it upon itself to organize a Popular Front in Latvia. It included the journalist Viktor Avotins, worker Vladimir Bogdanov, the writer Marina Kostenetskaya and others. This body's basic support lay among the informal groups. They lacked a clearly marked leader with a name fairly well-known in Latvia. However, it involved practical economists, who had thoroughly studied the primary needs of the national economy, in putting together a program. The organizing body put the basic emphasis of its program of action precisely on economics: its members believed that the root of most of the republic's problems, including the reduced use of the national language, difficulty in developing national culture, and trouble with inter-ethnic relations, lay precisely in this area.

At the same time, another group, formed by the creative intelligentsia—writers, poets and artists—had proposed its own program. Its members devoted basic attention to humanitarian problems, and theoretical scientists, somewhat removed from real production, developed the same economic questions. Given that the economic part of the program of this group was not very specific, its suggestions were loud in the writer's fashion, acting on emotions and thus able to attract masses of people.

Moreover, this group was headed by cultural leaders very well-known in Latvia: the poet Yanis Peters and the artist Dzhenma Skulme. Therefore, in the first days of September, when Yanis Peters spoke in favor of creating a Popular Front, his name ensured great popularity for the beginning. The two groups merged and concentrated

preparations for the Popular Front constituent congress began, in the process of which Peters' group pushed Avotins's group, along with its program, into second place.

Although the Popular Front was conceived of as an multi-ethnic organization, the overwhelming majority within it consisted of Latvians. There were several reasons for this.

The idea of the rebirth of the Latvian nation served as a powerful force, rallying Latvians around the Popular Front. Moreover, Latvians were better informed and, consequently, more active, than Russians: the republic's Latvian-speaking press had already taken a far more radical stance than the Russian-speaking press some time ago.

As a result, 94 percent of the delegates to the constituent congress of the 115,000-strong Popular Front were Latvians.

**A Congress Overwhelmed By Emotion**

For two days, from 9:00 in the morning until late at night, Latvian television and radio broadcasted a direct translation from the Latvian Central Committee Communist Party House of Political Education, where the congress was held. (Party and government leaders of Latvia were guests at the congress; Ya.Ya. Vagris, Latvian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, addressed its participants).

One after another, the delegates took the rostrum, repeating the same thing in the majority: the Latvian people, having suffered from the Stalinist repressions, having not lifted their heads during the time of stagnation, should undergo and is undergoing a renaissance today. The thought is right, but its endless variations created the impression that the congress delegates were suggesting that only the Latvian people had suffered and only the Latvian culture needed a renaissance. The feeling appeared and gradually strengthened that the orators (and with them the entire congress and the entire Popular Front) were trying to convince each other of a kind of exclusive nature of the Latvian nation. This impression was reinforced by the extremist speeches of many speakers who, in pursuing the audience's attention, clearly tried to outdo the preceding speakers in terms of the "boldness" of their speeches.

The apotheosis of extremism was the speech by the delegate from Kraslavskiy Rayon, Ivan Chizhevskiy, who blamed the "bad Russians" for all of the troubles which have befallen the Latvian people. The television and the coordinating center for the congress began to receive telegrams in protest and angry telephone calls. However, the delegates, gave Chizhevskiy a standing ovation as he left the rostrum.

Incidentally, they applauded everyone, for example, the speech by Andrey Tsirulis, editor of one of the republic's most popular newspapers, PADOMJU JAUNATNE, who literally appealed to the hall: "Just what are we doing! We will be humane. Evil never leads to good." This was met with just as much energetic applause.

However, the storm of euphoria so overwhelmed the congress that the delegates, it seems, lost the ability to soberly evaluate their own actions and their consequences.

### Beyond the Hall

It was as though the delegates to the congress had forgotten that not only Latvians, but Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians who were born on this land also consider Latvia their homeland. Therefore, the leitmotif of most of the speeches which were given, the "Latvia for Latvians" thesis, was interpreted by the republic's Russian-speaking population (which now makes up about half the residents of Latvia) as an intention of the Popular Front, predominantly Latvian in terms of membership, to drive the people who were born and grew up here out of their native home.

Naturally, tension in inter-ethnic relations immediately increased. It has not taken the form of fairly serious conflicts largely due to steps which were taken in time, including steps in the area of information. At a press conference given by the republic leadership jointly with the newly elected Popular Front leaders, it was clearly stated that the Popular Front strictly disassociates itself from extremist statements, that no one intends to deport Russians from the republic, and that the Popular Front understands: the Latvian people can solve their national problems only in unity with Russian and other peoples.

### Lessons From Recent History

Why has the appearance of the Popular Front, on which so many hopes were placed, caused a far from simple reaction? In my opinion, the basic reason lies in not knowing how to use democracy.

Precisely this circumstance also made itself known at the congress. In throwing scathing phrases from the rostrum and competing with each other in the boldness of their statements, the delegates, it seems, did not realize that this was not an ordinary, noncommittal conversation over a cup of tea which was taking place, but the congress of a sociopolitical organization, which presupposes serious responsibility for every word.

On the other hand, it seems to me that the members of the Popular Front support group who chose the delegates to the congress also did not display, on the whole, the necessary understanding of the features of the present stage of the country's and republic's development. The time for "breaking through the barriers" which limit glasnost are behind us. Today we no longer need simply

daring minds with the courage to publicly state that which they kept quiet about before, but sober politicians who evaluate the situation cautiously and are ready to consider the consequences that their words might lead to and to answer for these consequences.

It seems to me, the fact that Yanis Peters, chairman of the board of the Union of Writers of Latvia, refused to vote for the chairman of the board of the Popular Front after the first day of the congress, is symptomatic. Daynis Ivans, a 33-year old journalist, was elected chairman.

Thus, the constituent congress of the new organization (with a fixed membership and membership dues, as opposed, for instance, to the Estonian version of the Popular Front) is behind us, and its program and rules have been passed. What will be the nature of the Popular Front's practical work, its contribution to restructuring in all areas of the republic's social life? Evidently, the Popular Front's participation in the elections to the soviets will be the first serious answer to this question.

### LaSSR Procurator Finds LPF Program, Statutes at Odds with USSR Constitution

18120042 Riga CINA in Latvian 31 Dec 88 p 4

[From the press liaison of the Procurator of the Latvian SSR: "In the Office of the Procurator of the Latvian SSR"]

[Text] The Interdepartmental Commission for the Registration of the Statutes of Newly Formed Republican and Local Popular Social Associations in the Latvian SSR, within the Latvian SSR Ministry of Justice, registered the statutes of the Latvian Popular Front on 21 December 1989.

The Procurator of the Latvian SSR has found that some of the articles contained in the program and statutes of the Latvian Popular Front do not coincide with or are in conflict with the Constitution of the USSR, the USSR Law on the Status of People's Deputies and with other legislative acts, and according to Article 4 of the Interim Process, by which the statutes of newly formed republican and local popular social associations in the Latvian SSR are to be registered, which was adopted according to decree 367 of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers on [illegible] November 1988, the commission should have refused to register the statutes.

Taking into account the points mentioned above, the procurator of the republic, in accordance with the USSR Law on the Procuracy of the USSR, submitted a protest to the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers concerning the adopted decision of the Interdepartmental Commission of 28 December 1989 [as published]. The protest reviews the topics of withdrawing this decision and of reviewing the question of approving the statutes of the Latvian Popular Front only after the contradictions between the



statutes and program of the Latvian Popular Front and of adopted legislation have been resolved.

In accordance with Article 24 of the USSR Law on the Procuracy of the USSR, the submitted protest of the republican procurator halts the implementation of the decision of the Interdepartmental Commission, on the registration of the statutes of the Latvian Popular Front, until the protest is considered by the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

### Registration Criteria for Informal Organizations Discussed

18120059 Riga CINA in Latvian 29 Dec 88 p 2

[Unsigned article: "We Are Learning Democracy"]

[Text] After the first meeting of the Interdepartmental Commission, formed at the Latvian SSR Ministry of Justice, "which registers the rules of public organizations and associations formed in the republic's territory," its chairman I. Kauzens, first deputy minister of justice, was asked by a Latinform correspondent about the organizations whose rules were examined at the first meeting, and why some were registered and others were not, and he replied that they had examined the rules of seven public organizations, in the presence of their responsible leaders, of course, of which four were registered, but the others, for the time being, not. "For example, the Aviation Society of Latvia, in which representatives of various nationalities and generations have combined. These enthusiasts are working in contact with the DOSAAF. Their rules fully correspond with the USSR and Latvian SSR Constitutions. Naturally, we registered them."

Many organizations arose recently which duplicated in some way or another the activities of one other. Members of the Center of Latvian Traditions society could by no means explain how their activity differed from the work of the Culture Fund of Latvia, but, for the time being, they did not agree to an amalgamation with the latter organization. They could to a certain extent be, however, understood, because the society fundamentally consisted of young people, energetic people who wished to work independently, and as their rules had been adequately worked out and corresponded to all Soviet legislative norms, they were registered.

The organization with the rather loud title of For Fatherland and Freedom, probably because also this was mainly represented by young people, did not differ in any way from the People's Front of Latvia, and as its rules were not worked out juridically as skillfully and in as well-grounded a manner as that of, e.g., the Center of Latvian Traditions, it was not registered for the time being.

Representatives of the Cultural Development and Cooperation Society of Balts and Slavs had been asked why its members did not join the People's Front of Latvia, and

he had explained that although many members sympathized with the People's Front some members did not support the People's Front program fully. The society's activity concerned mostly the cultural sphere and its trends differed slightly from the People's Front. The three principal sections of the society, the Russian culture center, the Slavutich Ukrainian group and the Ranitsa Belorussian culture center, endeavored to restore the cultural environment of Slavs and strived to cooperate and achieve mutual enrichment with the national culture of the Latvian people. These were noble aims and deeds, and also with regard to the rules, the commission, as jurists, did not have any objections.

The Society of Mothers of Large Families also had proposed noble tasks, but for the time being it could not be registered, because the rules were incomplete and written without a jurist's assistance. A reworking and a submission to the next meeting of the commission was advised.

The Helsinki-86 group had better and more thoroughly drawn up rules, but everything had not been thought through. "For example, nothing has been said about the sources of finances. As is known, this group is assisted with money not only by our republic's inhabitants, but also by those who live abroad. This had to be fixed accurately in the rules, and the procedure for receiving and spending these funds had to be laid down. With regard to tasks formulated in the rules, Item 1.3, e.g., is formulated as follows: 'To learn and to teach democracy, to raise the society's political activity, realizing that only democracy and humanism are able to stand against demagoguery and malice.' It would, evidently, be difficult not to agree with that. But, you see, what we read further on, where it concerns the basic forms of this group's activities: 'By all possible means to turn against any of the transgressions mentioned in Item 1.2 of the rules.'

"Where it is stated: 'Deliberately to attract the society's attention and to endeavor to prevent any malicious acts of a political, economic, religious or ecological nature against Latvia's inhabitants, history, culture and nature.' These were evidently noble aims, but did 'resisting by all possible means' not mean, even for a noble purpose, that essentially all possible means were allowed." Kauzens thought that this formulation had to be more exact. In this connection the Helsinki-86 representative had replied that only humane and legal means were meant. But this should be so also in the rules, where it must be specified that the organization's methods would correspond to the norms of the Constitution. "Taking into account all that was said, we postponed registration of the rules of the Helsinki-86 protection of rights group." True, they had been immediately reproached with receiving instructions from above to find any pretext to avoid registration, but this was naive, as soon as the rules were adapted to legal norms, they would be registered.

And also the rules of the Society of Estonians were examined, against which there were no objections.

**Sajudis Member Warns Against Stalinist Thinking in Sajudis Activities**

18000419 Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 22 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by A. Karalyus, sociologist, member of the Sajudis Sejm: "One Should Not Pour New Wine Into an Old Wineskin: Rudiments of Stalinist Thinking in Sajudis Activities"]

[Text] It seemed that the Lithuanians had retained an immunity to Stalinist dogmas and emotional slogans. Most of the high-sounding ideas, far-removed from reality, which were proclaimed over a period of 40 years rolled off them like water off a duck's back. The Lithuanian was distinguished by his sober-minded assessment of reality, good management and... total passivity with respect to political action.

Today, when the grip they were caught in for decades has weakened and Sajudis has been established, fumes with the most diverse and subtle of scents have emerged. There is the chauvinistic ideology of "Unity" clothed in new terminology, the romantic concept of independence dating back 50 years, the absolutist stance of maximalist-minded youth, and reputable thinking on strategy and tactics. The community, veiled in the myth of unity, proved to be infinitely segmented and polarized. Logic of thinking and forms of action continue to be just about the only common feature of all the new movements. Unfortunately, these were most frequently taken from the era of Stalinism and stagnation.

Why is it that while rejecting with disgust the Stalin and Brezhnev dogmas and myths, we inconspicuously borrow the logic of thinking and forms of action from that so-recent period? Obviously the logic and style of Stalinist thinking are easily accepted not just for historical reasons. It is comparatively simple and emotional and finds many support points in our subconscious and in the collective myths. The great psychologists have long maintained that the division of the world into black and white, the expectation of a life of paradise, a magic wand, harm coming from evil forces, a just and judicious father, and many other emotionally colored archetypes are hidden in the soul of each of us.

The population of the Western nations, which grew up in a situation of political pluralism and democracy and active participation in political life, frequently do not understand the principles of our Sajudis, regard the situation with alarm and call upon us not to make revolutionary leaps but take small steps toward reform. From talking with representatives of the West, with people of different political views, I have become aware that some of their questions and complaints are always of a common nature: "Why is there so much anger in your eyes and your words?" "Why are you so impatient and categorical?"

Much can be explained with historical examples, with the cruelties of the Stalinists, but it is difficult to justify the feverishness in the adoption of political decisions (and Sajudis is already shaping its policy). When decisions are being adopted for the entire people one would like to have a greater sense of responsibility, a broader and more profound outlook. I believe that if we carefully analyze our thoughts, words and actions, we will find a great deal which could be discarded or altered, areas in which we can wait and those in which we must take immediate action.

In the first place, the Stalinists draw a precise line between black and white, between good and evil, between ours and theirs (that which is ours and that which is not). Not just nuances are rejected, not just the halftones, but the color itself. The logic is absolute: one or the other. This logic approaches denial or even hatred of that which is not one's own, of those who live differently, speak differently and have different convictions. If the other person is not the enemy, he at least elicits great suspicion and anxiety.

The absolute nature of assessments in the Stalinist mode of thinking is inseparably linked with the absolute nature of the decisions and with the uncompromisingness in ideology and policy. Compromises can be employed only as an extreme measure, mainly for deceiving the enemy. "Whoever is not with us is against us."

I completely agree with the concern expressed by A. Palavinskas, a resident of the FRG: "Are you actually not aware that such a 'revolution' evokes opposition.... It is my profound conviction that the implementation of Gorbachev's concepts demands a thoroughly conceived movement and not impudent 'rebelliousness.'"

The "principle" of the Stalinists specifies the only correct method of combatting deficiencies, which is to root out the bad. This means imprisonment, exile, emotional or physical destruction. The image of an enemy is essential for political activity based on this kind of thinking. Only an enemy can be to blame for all the troubles and misfortunes. Not for naught were the "enemies of the people" destroyed in a planned and systematic manner.

Another conclusion stemming from the absolute nature of the assessments is the concept that the old life, "rotten to the core," must be eradicated in order to build a "new" life. This is the ideology of the "Proletarian Culture," which evokes horror in the entire civilized world.

But let us not be in a hurry to call ourselves civilized. Now here, now there one hears ideas like the following (most frequently in Moscow): "We shall let the system totally collapse." Excuse me, respected people, but society is not an automatic machine made up of principles.

An important feature of Stalinist thinking is its dogmatism, its break with reality and the analysis of real events. It revolves in a limited circle of terms and dogmas. What is most important for it is not what is but what should be. The ideal model created for society's functioning, according to them, is not subject to criticism. The actual course of events is subject to criticism, because not the model but the reality must be adjusted, eliminating this or that component, glossing over this or that incident which does not lend itself to the theory, or falsifying the entire period.

We are not that way. Leading one another to euphoria, however, we too leave the earth. This particularly applies to assessments of the 18 November session of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet. Example: "Black Friday once again brought Lithuania to the brink of an abyss..." (SOYUDZHE ZHINES, No. 53). If, despite our completely legitimate desire, our hopes did not materialize, let us not call it a tragedy. If that is a tragedy then what are we to call Armenia's misfortune?

The Stalinists are convinced that they have a monopoly on the truth, that their way is the only correct one. This is how they can justify any action and soothe their conscience. Possessing this kind of monopoly, the Stalinists assume "paternal" concern for indoctrinating those who are not ideologically mature, drumming a number of dogmas into their heads and leaving no room for thought, since an "indoctrinated" mass can easily be manipulated. This is how it is planned to implement the Stalinists' dream of organizing society as an enormous automatic machine in which every little screw serves the common [cause], common goal and idea. The individual in the machine must occupy a strictly defined place and perform strictly defined functions.

Unfortunately, the bacteria of totalitarianism are alive also in us. It was with good reason that at a session of the Sajudis Sejm B. Genzyalis anxiously asked that Sajudis take no steps toward totalitarianism. What could be wrong with that, when the draft Sajudis charter contained the provision (which ignored congress decrees, incidentally): "All decisions of Sajudis governing organs have the force of decrees"? And how does one interpret the demand made by certain Sejm members that Sajudis members be elected by secret ballot, by a preponderance of two or three votes, after submitting three recommendations?! This poses not only a danger of bureaucratization of the functioning, but also a real possibility that the support groups will be turned into a "mass" and their opinions not be considered. Have we not for too long been a tool of "governing agencies"? Sajudis was formed as a national movement, after all, as an expression of love for Lithuania, as an informal opposition to the agencies of power. It is hardly proper to consider as Sajudis members only those who are romantically inclined and resolute.

Do we truly once again need a mass and not individuals, not personalities? Now the majority are once again prepared "to vote unanimously" for the new Constitution of Lithuania, even without having read it.

One can justify the demand for centralization and formalization of Sajudis by the need to cleanse it of opportunists, trouble-makers and "the tarnished." The Stalinists have long engaged in this kind of alchemy—the separation of good from evil. It is clear that they will succeed only in separating out those who do not conform to their interests. I will not deny the fact that there are opportunists, there are trouble-makers, there are mercenaries, but experience has shown that they are automatically eliminated where the work is serious and difficult, where creativity and effort are required, where there are no conditions conducive to cheap popularity.

The Stalinist ideology does not recognize in-depth analysis or self-analysis. It widely proclaim the importance of self-criticism, to be sure, but the self-criticism amounts to an analysis of how far they have deviated from the general line, from the position proclaimed by the dictator. The most typical response of the Stalinists to the most constructive criticism is rejection based on labeling it as an agent of evil. According to their logic, the rebuff must be devastating: It is important to defame those seeking the truth. The means are not important. Concentrating on the "rebuff," they forget about the goal of the real activity and the essence of the debate.

Only an unhealthy individual reacts to criticism in an unhealthy way. I do not consider our Sajudis to be that. The aforementioned minuses are not so much symptoms of sickness as difficulties of growth and maturation. Having reached the age of adolescence within a period of 6 months, Sajudis is experiencing the difficulties of that age. All of us can and must help it. Helping Sajudis means helping oneself and helping those near and dear.

**LiSSR: 'Greens' Official on Campaign Against Ignalina AES**  
18300288a Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 23 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by S. Lapenis, member of the Coordinating Committee of Lithuanian "Greens" and deputy department chief of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences: "The Ignalina AES and the Public Referendum"]

[Text] The Ignalina AES has become a testing ground of all our emotions, expectations, and ordeals. Only correct decisions which do not violate the interests of inhabitants of Lithuania and neighboring peoples have convinced us that the course of independence that has been chosen is realistic. At present, it is not clear whether or not the offspring of the assembly line of Soviet megalomania will exist or not. I hope that it will not exist in the clothing it now wears.

Inhabitants of Lithuania have been taking part for 90 days now in a public referendum which had no precedent until mid-November.



So, what are the results of the public referendum? Some 6,590 letters and 684,308 signatures from Lithuania, inhabitants of other republics and of other countries have been received (144,469 persons are calling for an international commission, 75,042 are opposed to the existence of nuclear power plants in the republic (it is true that in addition to the campaign concerning the Ignalina AES 43,192 persons were protesting construction of the Kayshyadoris GAES). An international and interethnic No! has been expressed against construction of the third unit of the Ignalina AES. Inhabitants of 10 republics and Kaliningrad Oblast, Lithuanians, and those serving in the armed forces who do not reside in Lithuania have said No! People from Arkhangelsk and Odessa, even from...the BAM, have said No! Opinions have been expressed from Afghanistan, Australia, Czechoslovakia, the United States, Poland, France, Finland, Sweden, Hungary, and the German Democratic Republic.

In 3 months, the entire world has learned about the Ignalina AES. The "Ring of Life" campaign has taken place, there have been television discussions, and commissions have been arriving from Moscow.

They have started to mothball the work on the third unit.

At the end of September, pursuant to an instruction of the USSR Council of Ministers, a commission was created of 25 specialists and 12 senior officials; before New Year's it is to submit more detailed data on the engineering-geology and seismic conditions of the Ignalina AES, the water supply, and the environmental impact, as well as to prepare a study on safe operation of the third unit. There are five persons from Lithuania on the commission, and it is headed by K. Frolov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In mid-October, five working groups were created: for seismic conditions, engineering geology, water supply and ecology, safe operation, and engineering problems. There are 18 specialists from Lithuania taking part in them.

At the end of November, N. Ryzhkov invited an international commission. I think that our signatures, the government, and "Sayudis" were helpful in making this happen. Incidentally, some of the specialists on these working groups have been notified of the results of the campaign to collect signatures.

What is the next thing to do?

While waiting for the international commission, we submitted the results of the campaign to collect signatures to members of the commission of the USSR Council of Ministers already referred to on behalf of Lithuanian "Greens." The letter ended with the words: "We implore you to examine with maximum objectivity a question that has vital importance to Lithuanians and other peoples. Act as your conscience as a scientist, a man, and a Communist dictates!" We have informed the

USSR Council of Ministers and members of the international commission of the campaign to collect signatures.

At the present time, another action is being organized. There is a meeting of 64 winners of the Nobel Prize in Paris from 18 to 21 January of this year. They have promised the world that they are ready to go to any point of the globe where there are cloudy issues such as the Ignalina AES. The American writer Elie Weisel, winner of the Nobel Prize, has established a personal foundation for the survival of humanity. We have obtained the address of that foundation's director Carol Ritner in New York, and we have written there. Valdas Adamkus, with whom "Zhyamina" maintains close contact, is acting as intermediary in this matter.

And now on behalf of the club "Zhyamina," on behalf of Lithuanian "Greens," I would like to thank everyone who took part in collecting the signatures. The campaign was not in vain.

We now declare the public referendum on the Ignalina AES completed.

If necessary, we will appeal once again to all the inhabitants of Lithuania. All the material collected—your letters and recommendations—will be used in articles and books. A precise report on collection of the signatures will be published in the newspaper ZHAIETUVAR, which is planned for publication.

I would like to quote from a few letters received from elsewhere: "We the undersigned demand cessation of construction of the Ignalina AES, assessment of the region's ecological situation, and a guarantee to inhabitants of Daugavpils that an accident will not occur. We want to know the names of those who are accountable for the safety of the Ignalina AES and guarantee it" (1,596 signatures).

Incidentally, back in July 1987 the Daugavpils civil defense staff issued in a large printing a pamphlet of instructions for local inhabitants entitled "How To Act in Case of an Accident at the Ignalina AES." When will we receive something similar? Very soon this issue will be placed before the republic civil defense staff.

The movement of Tallinn "Greens" collected signatures against expansion of the Ignalina AES. They obtained signatures from Tallinn residents, visitors to the city, civilians and military personnel, from everyone who was aroused by the appeal "No to Ignalina, we do not need another Chernobyl!" "Let us be united by the universal slogan of the movement of 'Greens'—'A Nuclear-Free and Weapon-Free Peace.' Let the Baltic states become the standard-bearer of Green Peace!" Yukhan Aare, chairman of the Estonian Movement of "Greens" (662 signatures).

"We accuse the management of the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant of substandard construction and operation. We no longer believe the figures which they report, since these figures do not correspond to reality" (105 inhabitants of Dukstas).

**LISSR: Nature Protection Society Responds to 'Greens' Charges**

18300288b Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 22 Dec 88 p 3

[Letter from K. Yankyavichyus, B. Baltushka, A. Gaulya, V. Malishauskas, and P. Zayanchkauskas, members of the Lithuanian Natural Conservation Society Council, and editorial comment: "Why Lead Society Astray? (On What Representatives of the 'Greens' Did Not Want To See and Hear in the Plenum of the Lithuanian Natural Conservation Society)"]

[Text] When we read the article entitled "Who Is Seeking a Compromise" (KOMJAUNIMO TIESA, 29 November), we were surprised at what the authors, A. Brazauskas, A. Abromavichyus, and I. Ioninas, said when they asserted that the "Greens" were not very welcome in the plenum of the Lithuanian Natural Conservation Society. A. Karalyus and Z. Vayshvila, members of the Coordinating Council of the "Greens," I. Dautartas, chairman of the club "Zhyamina," and others were invited to the plenum. But all who came to us were our guests. We hoped that you would be there to see the progress we are making. But that did not interest you. It is a pity that you were not sensitive to the constructive approach and goodwill on which the proceedings of the plenum were based. You did not listen to Prof V. Gudyalis, R. Budryunas, K. Labanauskas, and others who presented businesslike proposals on how to improve natural conservation and to invigorate the work of the society.

You say that the two main problems taken up in the plenum were the following: Why are the pay rates of natural conservation staff personnel so low, and why are the "Greens" so impolite? There was no mention of the behavior of the "Greens" at all, and as for wages, they were mentioned only in answers to questions.

The participants in the plenum made a constructive decision and adopted an appeal to the public calling for support of the Natural Conservation Society and the movement of the "Greens" toward the common objective of preserving Lithuania's natural resources.

V. Antanaytis, R. Pakalnis, and R. Budryunas were coopted as members of the republic council of the society, and the membership of the presidium was changed and supplemented. The esteemed authors of the article did not want to hear about that.

We should mention that the floor was given first to you, as guests at the plenum, but your behavior was not friendly, to say the least. You began to offer assessments

of the activity of our society without knowing anything about its bylaws or its affairs.

The arguments about the business part of the plenum presented in your article are incorrect. The plenum did conduct business, it had a quorum, and was guided by the bylaws of our organization. The bylaws were not violated. We will explain: the chairman of the society and other officers are elected by a show of hands, and there is no commission specifically formed to count the votes. The results are made known immediately, and there is no need for any confirmation here.

Thus, your "suspicions" are utterly unfounded. As for your "reproaches" to the effect that after the break the guests were not invited to observe the elections, we can say that the business affairs of our society are exclusively our own affair. The Natural Conservation Society has not been indicating and will not assume in the future such a tactless mission toward the organization of the "Greens." This is not a search for a compromise, as the authors assert, but a question of elementary ethics.

And in conclusion about to whom the Lithuanian Green Fund belongs. It is neither yours nor ours. The Green Fund belongs to the entire society. Do not lead the public astray. The Lithuanian Green Fund is an independent public institution. Its affairs are managed by a council created on a public basis, and the funds will be used only by decision of the council and to carry out the most important natural conservation projects. Follow the example of the Natural Conservation Society, which is already supporting that fund. Support that fund yourselves, popularize its role so that it is understood everywhere.

In conclusion, we invite you to join forces with us. After all, there is so much to be done. Let us work together to the benefit of natural conservation.

We wish you success, young colleagues!

**Editorial Comment**

It seems to us that the letter from members of the Natural Conservation Society has not answered all the questions put by the "Greens." Let us recall what the "Greens" wrote: only 53 of the 109 members of the republic council took part in the plenum (voted). Isn't there a message somewhere in that "level of participation"? Three new members were added to the republic council. Is that what you call renewing the council? And what has been done in the rayons to replace chairmen of chapters of the society who have compromised themselves with vigorous and enthusiastic natural conservationists? That is something else we know nothing at all about so far. No, the "Greens" are not the shepherd boys they might seem to be from this letter by members of the society. The "'Greens' Against Agroprom" campaign was successful as a matter of fact. Even now, they say

that 30 percent less milk is being sold, that its quality is being checked more strictly.

**LISSR: Academician Urges 'Greens,' Nature Protection Society Cooperation**  
18300288c Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 22 Dec 88 p 3

[Article by L. Kayryukshtis, academician: "Traditional Natural Conservation and the New Campaigns (Once Again on How To Invigorate the Natural Conservation Society and Reconcile It to the 'Greens' of Lithuania)"]

[Text] Those who work on the intellectual front, writers and certain enthusiastic natural conservationists, usually young people aroused by "Sayudis," have begun a bold and fruitful campaign to preserve the ecological balance. The founding conference of the "Greens" of Lithuania offered a very critical assessment of our republic's ecological state. Their program affords hope that the natural conservation effort in Lithuania has crossed the threshold of self-defense.

The activity of the Lithuanian Natural Conservation Society, and, incidentally, of other traditional organizations as well, is literally withering in the present process of restructuring. There have been warranted reproaches made to the effect that the leaders of the republic council of the society and members of the board have not become part of the movement for ecological and democratic renewal. Managers with responsible positions in the economy, people who more than once have been on the side of economic interests when natural conservation measures affected them, have been elected to positions of leadership in the society.

It is still early to offer a more complete assessment of the Natural Conservation Society. All we need to say today is that the Lithuanian Natural Conservation Society does deserve some credit. It deserves credit for more than just the society's numbers, the large-scale campaigns, the publicity, and the universities and conferences. It is also true that the natural conservation effort in Lithuania has its history. It began in the first years of independent life, when the Society for Beautification of Lithuania was founded (1921), which started out on the road of natural conservation. In March 1923, the Committee To Plant Trees was created. In 1931, the Lithuanian Naturalists Society began to be active. The natural conservation movement helped to establish the station of the "Zhuvintas" Park, and it started the practice of devoting days to the planting of trees back in prewar Lithuania, and this has gradually become a tradition.

But the laws on natural conservation, the instructions and the structures created in the period of the stagnation, and the dominance of the central departments did not play the role they should have. Leaders for natural conservation in the center and at the local level did not show the necessary persistence to carry out good

projects. The worship of bigness in industry and agriculture, the unrestrained industrialization of the entire republic, the arbitrariness of union departments, and the pursuit of short-term economic gain, in spite of the consequences for the environment, aggravated the ecological crisis. The movement of "Greens," all of its uncompromising campaigns—they represent the community's concern for restoring the environment. This is all normal. Experience shows that even in countries where natural conservation is traditional, for example, in Austria, West Germany, only the party of the "Greens," by putting pressure on parliament from within, has been able to hold back the anthropogenic press and restore to the system the lost ecological balance. Favorable developments toward improvement of the ecological situation in the West are occurring precisely thanks to the actions of that party. Traditional natural conservation provides the "Greens" with solid backing and the necessary theoretical underpinning. It is clear that hostility between these two currents in natural conservation is inconceivable in the West.

Today, Lithuania's public is demanding unification of the traditional activity of the Lithuanian Natural Conservation Society and the efforts of the "Greens." There is a great need, then, to discuss the most general principles of the natural conservation platform which could unify the ideas of active and passive natural conservation, all organizations for natural conservation, and all men of goodwill, all those who cherish the nature of their native region and the future of their people.

Environmental protection is not the business of the state alone. That is why a firm legal basis needs to be built to support all natural conservation, defining its three priorities—constitutional, economic, and moral.

Once those priorities have been established, popular ecological education would take on authentic meaning. The people would demand ecological knowledge not only to satisfy their curiosity, but also to improve their vocational skills.

The actions of the "Greens" aimed at reorientation of state investments and at bringing about the most favorable economic conditions for construction and operation of treatment plants of all types must have their place among natural conservation measures. Deductions from enterprise profit paid to the state must cover the additional losses incurred in production when a clean product is produced without waste. Then, for example, unleaded gasoline could be sold at a lower price than gasoline that pollutes the environment, a biologically clean product in agriculture and the food industry would be able to compete with a volume product.

The two independent organizations—the Lithuanian Natural Conservation Society and the "Greens"—would be able to pursue a unified natural conservation platform. The Lithuanian Union of Foresters, whose revival



is now becoming realistic, would help to save Lithuania's greatest natural resource—its forests.

The traditional organizational structure of the Lithuanian Natural Conservation Society, as has already been proposed by R. Budryunas, representative of the Kaunas chapter (KOMJAUNIMO TIESA, 19 October 1988), could be adjusted to the clubs of "Greens." We have already talked about this in a recent plenum of the Lithuanian Natural Conservation Society. To reestablish concord between these organizations, the first thing that has to be achieved seems to be the sovereignty of the Natural Conservation Society. The society's organizational structures should also be democratized, and the bodies of leadership of the society should be renewed at all levels. Mutually beneficial international relations need to be established: between the Lithuanian Natural Conservation Society and the International Union for Natural Conservation and the "Greens" of Lithuania with the international alliance of "Greens," with "Green Peace" [in English in the original]. The two organizations could enter into relations with neighboring republics and states. The demand that enterprises, the rayon, the republic, and the Baltic Basin become a self-renewing system, maintaining the ecological balance, might be the goal of that kind of friendly cooperation.

It is clear that only a general forum of friends and guardians of Lithuanian nature (a congress) would be able to decide the issues of a unified platform for natural conservation, distribute the strategic and tactical tasks, and assign the burden of the entire community. More acceptable structures of both organizations at the center and at the local level would also emerge in such a congress, democratic bodies would be elected to carry on activity, possibly even a council to coordinate efforts.

[Author's note] Please pay my fee to the "Greens" of Lithuania (Account No 1700530 in the Vilnius operational administration of Zhilsotsbank, payable to the "Greens").

#### **KaSSR Procurator on Legal Approaches to Environmental Protection Work**

18300256 Alma-Ata AGITATOR KAZAKHSTANA  
in Russian No 20, Oct 88 pp 22-24

[Article by N. Manayev, first deputy procurator of the Kazakh SSR: "Law and Ecology"]

[Text] Protecting the environment and preventing its pollution are basic directions of the activities of the agencies of the procurator's office. With each passing year, these problems take up a greater portion of our work. Last year alone, 497 verifications of observance of environmental protection laws were conducted, 236 suits were brought, and 334 officials were warned about the unacceptability of violating the law. By order of the procurator's office, 157 officials had disciplinary actions taken against them, and 131 people were held materially

accountable. The procurator's office filed 214 compensatory suits with a sum total of almost 209,000 rubles. In 1987, the courts found a total of 564 individuals guilty in cases of violation of environmental protection laws.

We strive to conduct all of this work in close contact with environmental protection agencies. Thus, through the initiative of the republic procurator's office, cases of industrial pollution of the Ile River by the Aktyubinsk Chemical Plant and Chromium Compounds Plant were confirmed by a trip to the location by a team of experts from the Ministries of Health, Water Management, and Geology and the State Committee for Atmospheric Monitoring.

Criminal proceedings were instituted based on the inspection's case materials. Organizational and technical measures were developed at the enterprises aimed at preventing further pollution of the region's water sources. This matter is now controlled by the regional procurator's office and the ispolkoms of the local soviets.

Verification of the observance of environmental protection laws and a trip together with concerned organizations was conducted in Chimkent Oblast, where pollution of the Arys, Badam and other rivers by harmful wastes and violations of the laws on protecting the air, wildlife and fishing resources were ascertained. The commission's conclusions were reviewed by the local soviets of the oblast and by the Commission on Environmental Protection and the Rational Use of Natural Resources of the Presidium of the KaSSR Council of Ministers. We have also taken control of planned measures on environmental improvement.

Similar verifications were conducted at the enterprises of the republic's energy industry, at water consumption facilities of North Kazakhstan Oblast, and at the Dzhambul phosphorus plants. Observance of the KaSSR Law On Protection of Atmospheric Air was also verified at 57 building materials enterprises. I can also name other verifications of ours. Nevertheless, this activity cannot now satisfy us, since violations of environmental protection laws are so widespread and our instructions are far from always completely carried out.

Why is that so? There are several reasons here. There are difficulties of an objective nature. They are associated with the need to modernize many existing enterprises and replace a large quantity of equipment, which requires time and money.

Inertia in thinking strongly interferes, when environmental protection is treated as some sort of secondary and even tertiary priority which can be sacrificed in the name of immediate interests. It is frequently simply impossible to find the guilty party, since those who installed the technology which harmed the environment have long since ceased working.

Departmentalism and lack of coordination of the efforts of organizations tasked with protecting the environment severely reduce the effectiveness of the various measures being taken. A dozen organizations and departments are working on this. In order to somehow coordinate their efforts, working groups were already established in republic and oblast procurator's offices back in 1984. Once every 6 months, the organizations and departments exchange information and hold joint meetings. This has enabled them to take a step forward; nevertheless, the departmental approach remains, frequently preventing them from taking timely measures. This, for example, can explain our weak influence on observance of laws on protecting the air environment. The Kazgidromet [Kazakh Hydrometeorological Center] is attempting to influence violators by means of fines and rarely sends case materials to investigative agencies.

Take another example. The total area of contaminated ground in Pavlodar Oblast exceeds 28,000 hectares; however, no one is involved with their "cure." There are 500 hectares of arable agricultural land of the Potanin Sovkhoz of Yermakovskiy Rayon polluted with sewage from the ferroalloy plant of the PMK-38 Pavlodarmelioryatsiya Association (manager O. Saninokov). On the lands of the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin of Uspenskiy Rayon, 1.2 hectares of pastureland were used as a rubble storage area without authorization. At this same kolkhoz, DEHu-231 [Road Operating Section-231] used 0.9 hectares of pastureland for storage of building materials without authorization. The Navlodartransstroy Trust (managed by A. Aubakirov) made unauthorized use of 3 hectares of land of the Sovkhoz imeni 22d CPSU Party Congress of Ehkibastuzskiy Rayon as an open-pit mine. What of it? Case materials concerning all of these violations have not been sent to investigative agencies by the land management service. Such connivance only plays into the hands of short-sighted managers.

The disconnected nature of the efforts of various departments is having extremely adverse effects on protecting the animal world. Poachers continue to inflict enormous damage upon it. Last year alone, more than 5,000 cases of hunting regulations violations and 17,500 cases of fishing regulations violations were reported, and suits for more than 1 million rubles were instituted. Leaders were among those detained. Transport of enterprises and organizations are used for illegal hunting—last year almost 650 state vehicles were detained.

I must also write, with great concern, that workers of hunting and fishing inspection agencies frequently carelessly and tardily formulate case materials, resulting in many of the violators not being held accountable. Therefore, the cases are not sent to investigative agencies at all. Hunting inspection agencies of Chimkent, Aktyubinsk and Kzyl-Orda oblasts are more guilty of this than others. For example, in December of last year, not 1 of 15 case materials on illegal shootings of saiga was sent to the investigative agencies by the Kzyl-Orda Oblast Hunting Inspectorate. The fish protection inspectorates of this

oblast have not sent on a single case in 2 years. The societies of hunters and fishermen are poorly conducting the struggle against poachers.

The people's courts permit liberalism. Of 281 people convicted of illegal hunting, supplemental punishment in the form of confiscation of property was used only in individual cases, even though the criminal code provides for it. Public prosecutors participated in only two cases, and riders were passed in two cases. With such an approach, poachers are feeling pretty good.

In February of last year, the KaSSR Presidium of the Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution, based on the republic public prosecutor's report, which provided for a number of important measures on protection of the animal world. One of them is directed at increasing the responsibility of leaders of enterprises, ministries and departments which must coordinate business activities with fisheries protection and hunting supervision agencies. Businessmen quite often forget to do this and, as a result, inflict irreplaceable damage. This is what happened, for example, at the Chervonnyy Kazakh Kolkhoz of Samarskiy Rayon, East Kazakhstan Oblast. Here, 48 hectares of virgin soil, inhabited by the three-fingered jerboa, which is entered in the Red Book, were opened wide without asking anyone. Damages amounting to 5,000 rubles were recovered on the public prosecutor's initiative, but it is appropriate to say: How does one make up for real damage to the environment?!

This question can be put to quite a number of economic managers and rank-and-file workers who, with regard to the environment, work on the basis of the following principle: I turn my nose up at what I want to.

The establishment of the Union Republic State Committee on Environmental Protection, which has been given broad powers and rights, will put an end to departmental isolation. The committee and its on-site agencies will exercise comprehensive management of environmental protection activities in the republic. They have been tasked with to develop and implement a unified scientific and technical policy for environmental protection and use of the environment, carry out coordination and state control, prepare of long-term state goal-oriented programs on environmental protection, conduct state ecological examination, etc.

Poor knowledge of the requirements of the law by both citizens and officials has an extremely adverse effect on environmental protection activities. As we know, ignorance of the law does not relieve one from responsibility for violating it, but, in many cases, knowledge enables one to avoid violations. And here I think it is worth remembering, however briefly, the existing system of legal measures. It includes disciplinary, material, administrative and criminal liability.

Disciplinary actions can be taken against workers whose action (or inaction) brought about pollution of the environment or caused damage to the animal or plant world. Disciplinary punishments, from reprimand to firing, can be used against them. These measures are stipulated by Article 130 of the Kazakh SSR Code of Labor Laws and by existing disciplinary regulations in a number of ministries and departments.

Material liability stipulates complete or partial denial of guilty persons' bonuses, monetary fines levied by the agencies of peoples control, and suits brought in compensation for damage caused to the environment in the state arbitration agencies and people's courts.

Administrative measures with respect to violators of legislation include a warning, a fine of up to 50 rubles levied on citizens and up to 100 rubles on officials, confiscation of objects which were instruments of perpetration or objects for violating the law, as well as loss of special rights (the right to hunt, the right to operate conveyances). For example, administrative liability for air pollution stipulates a fine of up to 100 rubles.

Criminal liability is stipulated by criminal and legal norms of the republic for gross violations of environmental protection laws in the form of corrective labor for up to 2 years, a fine of up to 300 rubles, and imprisonment for up to 5 years.

But all of these are, as they say, extreme measures. Consequently, it is necessary to emphasize prevention and warning of violations in implementing laws. In a situation of glasnost and democracy, a larger role in the radical restructuring of environmental protection belongs to the environmental protection society, the Komsomol, trade unions, scientific and technical societies, and tourist and sporting organizations. The formation of the Union of Environmental Protection Societies of the USSR is planned for conducting purposeful work on educating workers in a spirit of concern about the environment.

Improvement of legislation is an urgent matter. The 19th All-Union Party Conference resolution "On Legal Reform" states: "From the standpoint of new economic conditions, humanization, and democratization of public life, and intensification of prevention of law violations, we have to make substantial changes in legislation...on environmental protection." In the next few years, an All-Union USSR Law on Environmental Protection will be adopted which will combine all laws currently in force. In doing this, it was also noted in All-Union Party Conference documents, a decisive transition from primarily administrative to primarily economic methods will be implemented in management of environmental protection activities. The end results of the work of enterprises must be closely linked to the effectiveness of environmental protection measures being conducted by them. In other words, enterprises and labor collectives need to be put in a situation in which it will simply be

absolutely disadvantageous for them to utilize technology which damages the environment.

Environmental protection tasks are complex, but can be carried out through combined efforts. The highest priority is to distribute ecological propaganda among the population, beginning from childhood within the family, school, and middle and higher educational institutions, and directly in production. A radical turning point in environmental protection activities can be achieved when concern about it inspires each Soviet person.

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#### **GSSR Official on Republic Aid to NKAO Refugees**

18300322 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
4 Dec 88 p 4

[Unsigned article: "Assistance to Neighbors"]

[Text] With regard to the critical situation in the Armenian SSR and Azerbaijan SSR, it is common knowledge that some of the population of these republics have been forced to leave their permanent places of residence. In this connection, on 2 December the USSR Council of Ministers formed a government commission to render assistance to citizens facing difficult circumstances. O. E. Cherkeziya, chairman of the GSSR Council of Ministers, is a member of the commission. Earlier, a government commission was established by the GSSR Council of Ministers since the difficulties arising in the neighboring republics have led to an extraordinary situation in certain rayons of Georgia, particularly those that are contiguous with Armenia and Azerbaijan—Dmanisskiy, Tsiteltskaroyskiy, Lagodekhskiy, and Marneylskiy rayons—where temporary asylum has been requested for the refugees.

Z. A. Chkheydze, first deputy chairman of the GSSR Council of Ministers, was asked by a GRUZINFORM correspondent to comment on the situation that has developed and provide information regarding measures now being taken under present conditions.

Never have the Georgian people deserted anyone in misfortune. Similarly, when we encountered difficulties, the entire country came to our assistance. Let us remember our tragedy resulting from the elemental upheaval that occurred during the winter of 1986-1987. And we did not remain in debt. Georgia has always prided itself on its traditions of being hospitable, and it always surrounds those in need of it with attentive care and solicitude. So it was this time when the situation that developed in the neighboring republics demanded it. Party, soviet, and economic organs, together with the people living in the bordering rayons, offered a helping hand to the refugees from Armenia and Azerbaijan. Most of them are elderly people or women and children. They are being provided with provisions, medical supplies, and other domestic services.



Rayon staffs have been formed which strictly monitor the situation and coordinate activities, while rendering all sorts of assistance to those who have arrived. Each family, each person, is taken into account. Measures for sending each person of Armenian nationality to Armenia and each person of Azerbaijani nationality to Azerbaijan are being systematically carried out. For this purpose transport facilities, material resources, and security arrangements for transporting people are being provided by state motor vehicle inspectorates in our republic. Altogether, up to 10,000 Azerbaijani nationals have entered Dmanisskiy Rayon from Armenia between 22 November and the present time. The number remaining fluctuated until yesterday from 1,500 to 1,700. Yesterday, however, more than a hundred vehicles were sent to convoy groups of people. This process is continuing, and it is being fully monitored by the government commission.

Quite a few refugees have appeared in Marneylskiy Rayon. About 5,400 refugees have arrived there since 16 November. At the same time, an absolute majority of them have gone in vehicles to Azerbaijan.

A smaller number of people by comparison have been received in Gardabanskiy, Tsiteltskaroyskiy, and Lagodekhskiy rayons.

In Tsiteltskaroyskiy Rayon, 209 persons of Armenian nationality arrived from Azerbaijan, more than half of whom had already been sent to ArSSR's Kalininskiy Rayon. The rest of them—21 families numbering 87 persons—were also ready to depart.

As far as Lagodekhskiy Rayon is concerned, 2,020 refugees arrived from Belokanskiy, Kakhskiy, and certain other rayons in Azerbaijan. A total of 1,882 persons have already been received in Oktomberyanskiy and Aparberdskiy rayons in Armenia. In a very few days, as soon as their personal effects are brought, the others will also depart for Armenia.

Thus since 16 November more than 17,000 people have arrived from Azerbaijan and Armenia in neighboring rayons of Georgia. Of this number, more than 15,000 have gone to their respective republics. Local party, soviet, and economic organs are taking all steps to comply with the wishes of those who have arrived and to send them to their new places of residence in Armenia and Azerbaijan.

I am convinced that no one can remain indifferent to the situation that has developed in the neighboring republics, and, of course, it is particularly troubling to the workers of Georgia and to the entire Georgian people. Our people have never stood aside from difficulties and misfortunes that have befallen our neighbors.

It should be emphasized that the refugees of Armenia and Azerbaijan, in departing, are expressing sincere feelings of gratitude to the people as well as to the local

leadership, to party and soviet organs, and to all the workers of our republic for the help and support, the warm reception and assistance they have received during these difficult days for them.

### Implementation of Language Reform in Georgian SSR

#### Georgian Declared Official Language

18300241 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
14 Nov 88 p 1

[TASS report from Tbilisi: "The Fate of a Nation and Its Tongue"]

[Text] The draft of the state Georgian language program has been published for popular discussion.

The program, developed jointly by the Linguistics Institute of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, Tbilisi State University, Ministry of Public Education, Georgian Writers' Union and Rustaveli Society proposes to expand research and raise the quality of Georgian language instruction at secondary school and higher education institutions.

"After a broad public discussion of the draft in the republic, the state Georgian language program will be approved," said Chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers and of the permanent state commission on establishing the standard literary usage of the Georgian language of the republic's Council of Ministers O. Cherkziya. "Its implementation will lay the constitutional foundation for introducing the Georgian language into all agencies and organizations of the republic as the state language of the Georgian SSR."

The level of development of a language depends in a large measure on the fate of the people and its living and cultural standards.

#### Non-Georgians Must Comply

18300241 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
27 Nov 88 p 3

[Comments by Leyla Adamiya, director of Tbilisi Secondary School No. 98, and Dzhatu Darchiya, Georgian language and literature teacher at Kutaisi Secondary School No. 9 and party buro secretary, to ZARYA VOSTOKA correspondents: "The Georgian Language: A World of Images, Harmony and Hues"]

[Text] The issue of creating necessary conditions for non-Georgian residents to study the Georgian language interests many people. The proof of this is in numerous letters, reactions and telephone calls from our readers. It is very important for schools to be trailblazers in this great and important task. This is what educators told our correspondents:

**Leyla Adamiya, director of Tbilisi Secondary School No.98:**

The resolution "On Inter-Nationalities Relations" passed by the 19th all-union party conference states it with utmost clarity and precision: "We must create conditions for the Russian and ethnic bilingualism to develop harmoniously and naturally, taking into account special requirements in every region, and to remain free of formalism... We must encourage the study of the language of the nationality whose name the republic bears, especially by children and young people..." Indeed, the earlier the study of the second, i.e. indigenous language begins, the greater its effect, especially since in childhood there are no complex psychological barriers and everything can be learned easily. This factor must certainly be taken into consideration by the school.

What should instruction begin with? I think it should begin with the spoken language and strive to achieve a full impact at every Georgian language class in elementary school.

Mastery in a language is always relative, since the definition of mastery totally depends on the aims and condition of studying it. Even in the case of the native tongue, which people literally absorb with mother's milk, there are degrees of difference in how well different people know it. It can be readily seen even in a person's vocabulary, use of idioms and ability to express himself. Thus, one of the main principles of teaching Georgian at non-Georgian schools is to systematically improve students' vocabulary.

The new requirements in the study of the language translate into the need for new textbooks, which also means the introduction of new programs. It would be great if textbooks included works by Ya.Gogebashvili, Vazh Pshavela and other works of Georgian classics since such works display most clearly the richest shadows of meaning and the brightest palette of colors that are so typical of the Georgian language. From the start, students should be introduced into that world, which greatly enriches those who are familiar with it.

A few words about existing textbooks. They still have many deficiencies. Apparently, completely new ones should be written. Moreover, they should contain exercises to help students arrive at the answers independently and formulate a given grammatical rule on their own. Such exercises should be based on literary materials.

Naturally, while studying works of literature, students should learn about their authors as well. Not based on dry autobiographical (as stated in the original) dates but with those fascinating true-life stories (there is always a great number of those) which reveal the artist's personality and show his artistic development as it is tightly interwoven with the history of his people. Thus, Georgian language and literature classes may also serve as a conduit into history, which in itself is very important and necessary.

I think that the work of school libraries, too, needs a radical revamping. At Russian-language schools, even required Russian literature is in short supply, to say nothing of Georgian books. And yet, the library is a means of introducing students to Georgian books. Library stocks must be enlarged by works of Georgian classics, contemporary Georgian prose and poetry and books on Georgian history and culture. They could be written in Georgian and in other languages, but all of them one way or the other would broaden students' outlook and foster love for the native land and for reading in general. The task of enlarging library stocks is a difficult one. School libraries are still short of required books, expensive editions, good collections of literature and periodicals. Perhaps in this area it would make sense to allow school libraries to negotiate direct contracts with the republic's publishers to purchase Georgian literary works, Georgian-Russian and Russian-Georgian dictionaries and phrase books. All such books, it must be noted, are in short supply and they practically never reach schools.

To develop and improve Georgian language studies, schools need sufficient funds. They need various study aids, slides and documentaries and movies in Georgian to be shown at school. The study of the art of the Georgian people—that veritable treasure trove of world culture—must become an integral part of non-Georgian schools' curricula. Field trips to see productions of Georgian language theaters, meetings with their collectives and conversations and discussions with historians and art critics must become systematic and regularly scheduled events.

**Dzhatu Darchiya, Georgian language and literature teacher at Kutaisi Secondary School No.9, party bureau secretary:**

The knowledge of foreign languages has always been viewed as a sign of high cultural sophistication—to say nothing of the need to know the language of the nationality in whose land one lives.

System is key to learning languages. This is why we highly praise the "State Program of the Georgian Language" developed by the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences' Linguistics Institute imeni A.Chikobava, the republic's Ministry of Public Education, Writer's Union and the presidium of the All-Georgian Rustaveli Society with the participation of noted scientists and literary and artistic figures. The program calls for a set of broad measures to protect the Georgian language, develop it further, introduce it everywhere in the republic and study it thoroughly and profoundly. At the same time, it proposes to create very favorable conditions at offices and enterprises for non-Georgians to study the Georgian language.

To my mind, schools have ample means for organizing the study of the Georgian language, but those means have not been put into practice or tapped. First of all, we need competent, skilful, broadly educated teachers of the

Georgian language and literature. Unfortunately, facts show that such personnel is badly needed even at Georgian language schools, to say nothing of non-Georgian ones. Furthermore, we need good curricula for teaching Georgian and good textbooks. We must carefully select literature, depending on the age of the students. The technical base of Georgian language studies is especially in need of renovation in light of improved quality of instruction. We need language tapes, properly equipped language labs and study aids.

It is impossible to teach language adequately to a large class. Therefore, classes must be split into smaller groups, which means that the need to expand the staffs of Georgian language and literature teachers will arise at every non-Georgian school.

And finally, a few ideas that do not relate to school. Special materials are needed to study the Georgian language, such as easily readable texts supplied with dictionaries in the back, phrase books, grammar reference books, dictionaries and language records. All this will allow people to study Georgian independently. The same is true with respect to popular literature on the history and culture of Georgia published in Russian.

#### Youth Paper Interviews VP of GSSR Rustaveli Society

18300214a Tbilisi MOLODEZH GRUZII in Russian  
22 Nov 88 pp 4-5

[Interview with writer Akakiy Bakradze by MOLODEZH GRUZII journalists Nodar Broldze and Besik Urigashvili: "Our Sovereign Right"]

[Text] The level of the political and social activity of the republic's residents has reached its apogee on the eve of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet session. This is not surprising: To a large extent, the republic's future depends upon what kind of decisions are made by the session. In connection with this, our correspondents met with the deputy chairman of the all-Georgian Rustaveli Society, the writer Akakiy Bakradze, and asked him to answer a number of questions.

[Question] How do you assess the present situation that has developed within the republic? What, in your view, has conditioned it?

[Bakradze] What is going on in Georgia today can be characterized as the result of an awakening of national self-consciousness which, in turn, has been conditioned by the legitimate, natural process of restructuring and renewal. It stands to reason that different people may hold views that do not entirely coincide with respect to their understanding of what should be termed renewal and restructuring, but the fact that an enormous number of people are taking part in these processes today is absolutely clear. As also is obvious their heretofore unprecedented level of social activity, which has been awakened by democratization and glasnost? In essence,

what we are talking about are the basic interests of society, of each region and, more than this, if you will, of each individual person. The desire to join together in various formal and informal societies and organizations, to express one's own attitudes regarding the pressing problems of the times at the mass meetings which have taken and are continuing to take place in many of the country's cities, also including Tbilisi—all this, as you understand, is by no means an accidental and spontaneous event.

It is not surprising, therefore, that it is specifically questions that are related to the expression of national will and the creation of a just state, as well as to a change-over by the republic to full cost accounting, that are today the most vital ones, the ones which are exciting people the most. Indeed, our future will depend upon how they will be resolved right now.

But, as distinguished from past methods, the entire people must participate in these decisions. For, if we have openly and publicly acknowledged the bankruptcy of the results that have been achieved over the course of many decades, ones that have been a consequence of back-room decisions in the upper echelons of the leadership and of other well-known causes, then does it not follow, finally, not only to initiate society as deeply as possible into the plans that are being worked out, but also to listen to opinions that are capable of providing the key to solution of particular problems. I attribute such a need to everything that foreordains the successful and stable existence of the union republics and of the Soviet state as a whole and, not least important, to respect for the national interests of peoples.

Now, specifically, concerning what the national interests of peoples and, in particular the Georgian people, entail. The primary basis and main prerequisite of these under the conditions of the political structure of our country is respect for the sovereignty of the people and of the republic in the classical sense of this word. There is no way that the situation that has now developed might be called an optimal and just one in this connection.

It is well known how the peoples of a whole series of republics greeted the news of the proposed changes to the USSR Constitution. Such a reaction is entirely natural, since these changes and amendments do not contribute to a strengthening of mutual trust between the central and local authorities, and reduces to zero the idea of a voluntary union of peoples. Besides this, I do not think that it can be considered normal when, within the territory of Georgia, the international language for relations among the people who populate the republic is not the Georgian language. The fact is that, in this case, national interests are being frustrated against our will and in a way we cannot avoid, and not only those of the Georgians, but also of representatives of all the other peoples who live within the territory of the republic. In such a situation, many people, including inhabitants belonging to the core population, are forced to adapt



themselves constantly to the Russian language and Russian culture. An inordinate centralization of authority has led to this, when every region in the country must report back to the highest leadership constantly and regarding everything. As a result, even in those organizations and institutions where there is no such need and where the overwhelming majority of workers speak Georgian, documentation is carried out in the Russian language.

Gradually, by degrees, methodically, in the same way that the ocean wave washes away the soil of the coast, all this has an influence on the national distinctiveness of one or another people and leads to destabilization of their linguistic culture. It is understood that this disparity has historical roots but injustice cannot go on endlessly. A process of renewal has started almost everywhere so that, looking over the past as a whole, we can draw lessons for the future. At the same time we cannot ignore the circumstance that, besides all-union experience, which belongs to the entire country, there exists a specific social and historical experience of each people, of each republic, which deserves important support on a republic scale in the course of restructuring. In my view, we cannot forget about this experience today. All the more so as, paradoxical as it may be, the Georgian people have turned out to be, on their own historical territory, in the same situation as the national minorities which live in Georgia. And even more so; indeed, such a situation can not be termed anything but an anomaly. If this question is viewed in an historical retrospective, then we will see that our land has never refused refuge and bread to refugees or simple travellers. Many of them have chosen Georgia as a permanent place to live. Today, our republic is one of the most diverse in terms of nationality. This has developed historically. For those republics with a population of uniform composition, things are much simpler in this sense. The question of what will become of Georgia and what will become of the Georgians as an ethnic group does not seem to me to be a rhetorical one by any means.

What should be done to correct the situation? I do not want this to be looked upon with alarm, or as a step backwards, but I believe that subjects in state schools should be taught in the Georgian language. I emphasize, in the state schools. With a carefully weighed, correct approach, this will not infringe upon anybody's interests.

[Question] Explain, please, this thought. Because, today, very many people who are living within the territory of Georgia feel a certain spiritual discomfort and even alarm concerning their future destiny. Surely, even today, the moment is ripe when it is necessary to have firm guarantees that not only the legal rights of the Georgian people will be observed, but also those of representatives of other nationalities who live within our republic and who do not speak the Georgian language. As far as is known, such precise guarantees are not contained in the draft "State Program for Development of the Georgian Language..."

[Bakradze] It is a given that nobody intends to force anyone to study the Georgian language. But in order for the language of the basic population to become the dominant one within the republic, and this would be natural, I consider it expedient for, in general, the teaching of all basic subjects in all state schools to be conducted specifically in the Georgian language. At the same time, it is necessary that the language and literature of those peoples which comprise a majority in one or another region of the republic be studied as obligatory subjects. In those cases when the basic group of the population of one or another region of the republic is not in agreement with this or considers this process to be excessively difficult, then it should enjoy the right to the establishment of non-state schools, but with the indispensable condition that the Georgian language and literature be taught in them, albeit informally. But none of these, of course, is a simple question; they must be thoroughly examined, the necessary legal basis must be created, and this must be submitted to a nationwide referendum. And a final decision must be reached only after taking into consideration all opinions and on a truly democratic basis.

Finally, by way of summary: The juridical and actual realization of sovereignty also means that, in the future, any law that discriminates against residents of Georgia, of any nationality, will also be unacceptable to the Georgian people as well.

[Question] We note, by the way, that respect for national interests is frequently manifested in an totally unambiguous way in the practice of foreign countries. For example, for the children of Turkish or Greek workers and specialists temporarily residing, let us suppose, in Scandinavia or West Germany where, by preference, they are working for a time, they open Turkish and Greek schools. In doing so, they are obeying the law...

[Bakradze] This does have to do with the consideration of interests but, in principle, it is an entirely different matter. This temporary residence within the borders of another state, when such a necessity is the result of economic considerations, is one thing, while permanent residence, when this directly influences the ethnic composition of the core population, is another.

I will take the risk of sharing with you the following observation. Have you not had occasion to observe people who are speaking in their own language, let us say, in Georgian, and that they, a group of about 40 or 50 people, interrupt their discussion and continue the conversation in Russian because two Russians have joined them? (Clearly, it is awkward to speak in a language unknown to someone when he is present.) Naturally there are historical reasons for this. It is also true that that it would not enter the head of anyone who has gone to Russia to say: Speak my language, because I do not know Russian. The reality is such: Whether you wish it or not, your language is by necessity subjected under these circumstances to discrimination, an element of

discrimination, as such, is introduced. The psychology of a traditional opposition of the large to the small, of the leader to the follower, is, alas, preserved. This is above all a vestige, but a stable one that has worked its way into modern mutual relationships. What is happening as a result is not the protection, on a parity basis, of the interests of one or another people, but rather a guarantee that the interests of a particular people will be preserved as the being the dominant one, one that has a right to dictate, among other places, even on an ordinary trolley bus. I do not want you to misunderstand me. There can not be a full-value society without a dialogue between peoples, nations, and individual persons as between one equal and another. So, as regards language, there is yet another important circumstance. It is known that the more languages you know, the more of a person you are. But, along with quantity, I would also like to make mention of quality. If the world has been created with a large number of languages and peoples then it follows that we also not gotten along without appropriate harmony within this surprising variety. It seems legitimate therefore to wonder why we should disturb this rule of harmony. If it is accepted to believe that even the last fly that dies in the fall has a significance for nature, then why should we ignore the quality, state and usage of our native tongue? Indeed, for the sake of this same harmony and the observance of natural processes in nature, it is necessary for us to preserve plant life, the forest, and bodies of water. But what about the language cultures that belong to nations as a whole, including ancient ones?

We should foresee all this and, on this basis, should begin to create, to build a new policy. All this needs to be properly considered and it is therefore that I permit myself to talk so much about these schools and cultural institutions, because, when the policy of equalizing conditions was first implemented, we somehow did not recall that such equalization would unavoidably result in infringements. Even Berdyayev, in his "Philosophy of Inequality," maintained that, in calling for general equality and in realizing it, we violate the course of natural development, for the world that surrounds us itself suggests that harmony is inseparable from individual diversity. And it is this diversity which we are trying to destroy, which leads to a loss both of national character and of the specific features of one or another nation.

Proceeding from this, I will state my conviction that it is necessary to formalize the status of the union republics, which at the present time does not exist—either theoretically or a juridically. Who can say with complete certainty today what the rights and obligations of the union republics consist of?

Our Constitution now in effect does nothing to define this. Neither the all-union constitution nor the republic one. I, for example, have not read anywhere what a union republic is? What are the rights and obligations of its citizens under the conditions of a multi-national

population? Therefore, it is necessary to formulate a new status for the union republics—taking account of the urgent considerations that we are talking about—so that everyone living within the territory of a republic will be clear concerning the specific nature of this status. People of non-Georgian nationality who have lived for a long time in Georgia have an excellent knowledge of our language and our culture. But in places one also observes such phenomena as national reclusiveness and disinterested participation in the affairs of our economy and culture. I do not consider this a problem.

To summarize what I have said, then it should be clear that first we should formulate legal norms and then later, by means of a nationwide referendum, should reach decisions of some kind. It is necessary to convince people, to give them guarantees that nobody's interests will be infringed upon...

For this, it is necessary for the government and the people to work together. Decisions should be made taking account of all opinions and it is necessary to specify and weigh everything carefully before submitting them to a referendum. Maximum glasnost is necessary in the discussion of these questions, otherwise false rumors or, heaven forbid, confrontations will not be avoided. In no case can injustice be allowed.

All opinions and all demands should be expressed openly, through the press. Even if these opinions and demands are unacceptable. This is necessary in order to know the mood of all levels and groups of the population, so that appropriate specialists will work out a draft law that takes into account all of these opinions, one which will also be discussed openly and nationally. And if it is finally approved, then it will become a law which it will be necessary for all to follow.

In a word, a need has arisen for a new Constitution for the republic. And on its basis and on the basis of the constitutions approved in other republics, a nationwide constitution should be created, one that takes into consideration and protects the interests of each republic.

Let us think a little: Indeed, the federation about which we are talking, in fact, does not exist in our country today. The Constitution which, in my view, should be developed anew, must necessarily establish the principle of federation, giving full sovereignty to the republics—with the exception, of course, of those areas which relate to defense and international policy.

A new approach is required to each new stage of historical development. I believe that, in the history of the development of the Soviet state, one stage has ended and another one has begun. When the union of republics was created, it was conceived as a union from the viewpoint of defense and diplomacy, but unfortunately all this has been given a different interpretation in practice. A state was created in which, intentionally or unintentionally, Russia occupied a dominant position and principles

were preserved on which, in camouflaged form, an empire was built. It is necessary to reject all this decisively. It is necessary to form a truly fraternal union of states having equal rights, where there will not be an older and a younger brother.

[Question] The Rustaveli Society and the Ili Chavchavadze Society: What unites them, and in what ways are they different?

[Bakradze] To speak honestly, the Rustaveli Society was established as a counterbalance to the Chavchavadze Society, which had been established earlier. But this was wrong from the beginning, if only because the Ili Society did not set itself the goal of confrontation. It was established in order to protect the interests of the people as a whole. And there is nothing criminal in the fact that it has frequently expressed opinions which have deviated from official ones. For example, it is difficult to imagine greater like-mindedness than there is within our Communist Party, but insurmountable contradictions have arisen in their time even among the leaders of the CPSU, a result of which, for example, were the repressions of the 1930's. Even within such a monolithic block, various points of view have arisen and do arise concerning one and the same question. They should occur even more often within a free public opinion. It is natural if, possibly, the Ili Society, has one opinion concerning some question or another, the Rustaveli Society another, and some other organization—a third. But it is bad when some are able to express their views widely and others are deprived of such a possibility. An exchange of opinions makes it possible to reach specific and sober conclusions and to consider the viewpoints and demands of the most varied groups in society. But, at the same time, it is necessary to work out the single, best-working criterion, the one which is most acceptable. It is necessary to argue, to polemicize, but at the same time to achieve a single positive goal.

[Question] In our times, when many generations have lived and formed their views, their political convictions, under conditions of a one-party system, alarming, disquieting voices are being heard apropos the creation of popular fronts in various republics, organizations with a political purpose. What do you have to say in connection with the creation of a national democratic party in Georgia, announced at meetings held recently?

[Bakradze] I am still not prepared, honestly speaking, to give an exhaustive answer to this question. This organization, as far as I know, has a definite program of action, but all this requires, in my view, careful preparatory work, as does the question of its generalization, of a dialogue with the people, so that people have the clearest possible idea what, precisely, they are proposing and whether this is a good thing today or not. Therefore I think that, when discussion centers around some kind of problem, when it is being discussed on a national basis, let us say, the question of shifting the republics to full cost accounting, or other important matters, then the

informal organizations as well should be permitted to take part in such a discussion. It is necessary to give them an opportunity to express themselves fully, without deletions; otherwise nobody will be able to understand whether they should agree with them or should reject their proposed version of a solution to the problem.

The Rustaveli Society has such an opportunity, and members of the Chavchavadze Society but representatives of the parties you have mentioned should also be able to express themselves on such questions, first of all through the press. This would put an end to all rumors and conjecture. In the present situation, when they do not have this opportunity, they are forced to print their views in flyers and journals that they publish themselves. This draws a protest, an understandable one, from the official leadership. Besides that, it is one thing to advance an idea during meetings, after which information which is disseminated orally reminds one of the game of "pass it on," and it is something entirely different when everything that has been said is recorded in the press.

We must not follow events spontaneously, but rather consciously only and we must select paths which can produce positive results, and which do not cause harm to general political, economic, cultural, and other interests.

[Question] Your attitude toward a multi-party system under socialism? Is it possible, with full economic independence of the republics and true sovereignty, to introduce a multi-party system in one or several of the republics?

[Bakradze] In my view, at the new stage of development of socialist society, a multi-party system will become an objective necessity. Without true democracy, without a political opposition capable of controlling the legal authority and legality of actions on the part of the government or, shall we put it, the ruling party, it is not the least bit serious to talk about a market economy, about the normal functioning of management systems. At the same time, there is absolutely no necessity, and it is even unwise, for the party which stands in opposition, for example, to fight for a change in the existing system. But it will have an interest in presenting its own program for perfecting socialism. In any case, it will have the obligation of convincing the voters that its program is better, which, in turn, will be an incentive to creative work on the part of the ruling party. In a word, I see nothing frightening for socialism, for its foundations, in the future functioning of a multi-party system. To the contrary, it should serve as a strong push for improving management of the country. After all, different concepts of socialism do exist in the world. There is Soviet socialism and there are Chinese, Yugoslav, and Romanian. Why shouldn't there be several parties in one country that have different views of socialism?

As regards the second part of your question, then, with true sovereignty of the republics, it is the business of



each of them, whether they chose a single-party, a two-party or a multi-party system.

To express myself briefly, then in my view, under any system, for it to function normally, an opposition political organization is necessary. And if we seriously want to achieve success in restructuring, we must accustom ourselves to this idea, to accept it as the norm.

[Question] How realistic, in your view, is economic independence for Georgia?

[Bakradze] Of course, for this, serious development work, the creation of commissions and programs which consider all the nuances, is necessary. There is a great deal of work needed on this plane. But it is entirely realistic and fully possible. And, what is most important, republic cost accounting will produce a real rise in production, in the creative potential of the people of our republic. Under conditions of economic independence, a parasitical life will be impossible, and each person will be forced to work with maximum efficiency and will receive correspondingly. It is true that this rise will unavoidably be preceded by a possible decline in the living standards of the republic's inhabitants for a certain time. But without this, it is not possible to talk seriously about improvement of future living conditions and economic indicators. But, I repeat, this must be preceded by serious preparatory work.

[Question] Several words about the "blank spots" in history. We ask this question because your lectures on the history of Georgia, in particular, about the events of the 1920's, enjoy great popularity. How correct is the assessment given them in the works of historians?

[Bakradze] I have done a lot of work on these questions, so that I can state with full responsibility that there was no armed uprising in Georgia on 25 February 1921. Foreign forces occupied the republic and overthrew the legal government by means of force. There also was no counterrevolutionary revolt in 1924, but there was—a popular uprising. The entire thinking population of Georgia took part in this uprising. Consequently, there can be no talk about any kind of counterrevolutionary revolt by any particular group. The uprising was drowned in blood, again by forces from outside. According to my information, many more people died in Georgia in 1924 than in the terrible years of repression during the 1930's. And if we are talking seriously about "blank spots", the time has come to also talk openly and honestly about this. This is necessary if we are to move ahead.

[Question] How, in this case, do you visualize prospects for the country's political development?

[Bakradze] It seems to me that further development of events within the political life of our country will follow the path of real federalism, of a recognition of the true

sovereignty of each union republic. This, in turn, presupposes all-round democratization of our life. I reach this conclusion based on an analysis of the events that have occurred during the three years of restructuring. Now it is already clear that there is no alternative. And no kind of demagogic calls for discipline and order in the name of democracy, with a subsequent "turning of the screws," undertaken from time to time by the conservatively oriented part of the bureaucratic apparatus, will be able to change the natural course of events.

[Question] Let us return to the present day. Recently, a session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, expressing the will of the people, approved an amendment to the Constitution of that republic, according to which in certain cases all-union laws may be suspended if they do not respond to the interests of the republic. Can we be sure that the [upcoming] session of the GSSR Supreme Soviet will pass a decision that expresses the true will of our people?

[Bakradze] We cannot be certain of this. But I think that the level of social activity on the part of our public on the eve of this session should have a definite influence on the decisions which will be made.

The Rustaveli Society has absolutely precisely and unambiguously expressed its position with regard to the draft constitutional amendments and, in particular, to articles 108 and 119. Our attitude toward them is sharply negative. And our opinion, in this case, is a reflection of the opinion of a large part of Georgian society. This is also evidenced by the demands which were advanced at a meeting of many thousands which took place on 12 November; moreover, at the Rustaveli Society, letters are coming to us from various institutions and organizations where meetings have been expressing a negative attitude toward these amendments. And we have to hope that our deputies will take this under advisement and consider this opinion.

[Question] Are the deputies to the republic's Supreme Soviet true elected representatives of the people?

[Bakradze] No, they are not, and they cannot be such with the present election system.

Deputies should be people who enjoy true authority, who understand the essence of the political processes that are taking place. Being a deputy—this is not a privilege for good work. And if a person, even if he is a good worker, writer, or engineer, does not have a grasp of the essence of political processes, he should not be given the powers of a deputy. Unfortunately, the overwhelming majority of today's deputies are not focussed, or are focusing with difficulty, on the political events that are occurring. Consequently, the majority of them are hardly able to

influence the passage or non-passage of important, sometimes vitally important decisions by our republic's highest legislative organ. As far as I know, there is not a single jurist among the present deputies to the GSSR Supreme Soviet.

[Question] Permit us to ask the following question: It would be interesting what kind of views you held when you were young?

[Bakradze] By nature I was a rebel and very often was not able to avoid run-ins. For example, once there was a conflict, after which I was a hair from being arrested. This was in 1952, right after the 19th Party Congress. Beria made an address at this congress, in which he said that there exist socialist and capitalist nations in this world and that the socialist nation is flourishing while the capitalist one, correspondingly, is decaying. This was a normal, absurdly conceived propaganda speech although, at first glance, it had a kind of theoretical basis that seemed to be scientific. Then like now, incidentally, there was a rule, according to which it was indispensable to study the materials from a congress. And we, being students, were supposed to give reports on these materials. Besides this, scientific conferences were held regarding them. At one of the student conferences, an examination was made of this speech specifically. Studying in the same faculty with me there was a David Dzhabidze, a flyer, a participant in Fatherland War, and a Hero of the Soviet Union. He gave a speech about it. But when he came out with a statement that harmonized with the "our leader's guidelines," I could not stand it and said that Beria was not a scientist. That he was a politician and that he was engaged in propaganda in support of his own political views. And that this statement could have nothing in common with real science.

This provoked terrible agitation. The work of the conference was immediately terminated. The next day they called me first to the rector's office and then to the appropriate organs. But, fortunately, everything worked out. I later learned that the rector, Niko Ketskhoveli, who was a very influential person, had strongly interceded on my behalf at the time. He enjoyed great authority both as a scholar and as an individual. If it had not been for him, my fate would have turned out differently, for sure.

[Question] Your attitude toward the political activity being manifested today by young people in Georgia.

[Bakradze] I can only rejoice in this. Of course, among young people, as also among other groups of the population, there are some who are more active and some who are less active. But what is going on within their progressive wing, certainly, deserves all kinds of support. I, in any case, am trying to stand at their side and to support all their progressive initiatives. I want to say also that the activity which they are displaying with regard to all kinds of problems, to all of manifestations

of social life, was not characteristic of our own generation. We were incomparably more passive, and even if our generation did have opinions on one question or another that differed from the official one, we were not able to raise them to the rank of a nationwide problem. The present generation, its progressive part, does not accept on faith everything that is being said, but thinks, analyzes, tries to have its own opinion, and defends it, even if it deviates from the official one. It can be boldly stated that the today's youth are a new generation, not only in the sense of age, but also a qualitatively new generation. Well-informed, with a well-developed spirit of rebellion, and capable of thinking critically about reality. And this is excellent, this inspires hope.

*From the Editors:* In publishing this discussion, we appreciate that it is not free of disputed points. However, this also means that, by virtue of this, the reader has an opportunity to take part in discussion of the designated problems. Besides this, it should be considered that the interview took place and was prepared for the press on the eve of the decree passed by the GSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium concerning the course of general discussion within republic of the draft USSR laws "On Changes and Amendments to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the USSR" and on "Elections of USSR Peoples Deputies," which gave expression to the opinions of the workers and the broad public of Georgia (the decree was published in republic party papers on 20 November 1988.)

#### **Creation of Georgian Popular Front Widely Approved**

18300214b Tbilisi MOLODEZH GRUZII in Russian  
26 Nov 88 p 1

[GRUZINFORM report: "Working Group Created"]

[Text] On 14 November a meeting of representatives of the public took place at the Georgian Writers' Union, at which the question of establishing a Georgian Popular Front (the name is tentative) was discussed. As is known, a general meeting of the writers turned to the creative unions, public organizations, and informal associations with a proposal that such a meeting be held.

Taking part in the meeting were members of an initiative group chosen at public meetings and of a group approved at a general meeting of the writers, as well as representatives delegated by all the creative unions, the republic Academy of Sciences, Tbilisi State University, the All-Georgian Rustaveli Society, and certain informal associations, along with writers, representatives of creative and scientific youth, and of the press, television and radio.

The meeting was chaired by the chairman of the board of the Georgian Writers' Union, Mukhran Machavariani.

Participating in discussion of the question were the following: Leval Aleksidze, Givi Alkhazishvili, Akakiy

Bakradze, Vakhtang Baratashvili, Irakliy Bazadze, Yute Gabashvili, Neli Gabrichidze, Amiran Gomarteli, Teymuraz Gotsadze, Lasha Tabukashvili, Koba Imedashvili, Amiran Kaladze, Merab Kokachashvili, Vazha Lordkipanidze, Nodar Natadze, Guram Mamuliya, Enver Nizharadze, Otari Nodiyi, Iza Ordzhonikidze, Revaz Siradze, Apollon Silagadze, Nugzar Popkhadze, Tamaz Shavgulidze, Dzhangug Charkviani, Otari Chelidze, Tariel Chanturiya, Georgiy Chogoshvili, Givi Gambashidze, Imedi Dzhakhua, and Avtandil Dzhokhadze.

The participants in the meeting supported the idea of creating a Georgian Popular Front.

Note was taken at the meeting of the work that has been done by the members of the initiative group. Representatives of the public considered it necessary to establish a new joint working group for the purpose of preparation by its members of preliminary texts of documents for this movement and carrying out preparatory work for holding a republic-wide founding meeting (a congress or a conference) of the movement. The meeting named and proposed that Akakiy Bakradze, Mukhran Machavariani, Revaz Dzhaparidze, Nodar Natadze, Guram Mamuliya, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, and Irakliy Shengelaya comprise this group.

The members of the group were directed to establish appropriate expert commissions and to enlist scientists and specialists in the preparatory work.

The Georgian Writers' Union was designated as the venue for the working group. Proposals and opinions may be sent to the group at the following address: Tbilisi, ul. Machabeli 13, Union of Writers; telephone: 99-74-33.

The working group will systematically advise the public of its activities.

Along with this, the participants in the meeting clearly expressed their negative position with regard to Article 108 of the draft law concerning changes and amendments to the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law). In connection with this question, the meeting supported the proposals of T. Shavgulidze, D. Khetsuriani, Ya. Putkaradze, D. Margvelidze, and others, which were published in the newspaper KOMUNIST on 12 November of this year. The meeting considered it necessary to prepare a special letter to the appropriate commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet and to the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet from the Georgian SSR in order to provide a mandate that will substantiate the debated opinion of the Georgian public.



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